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# Current History

MAY, 1961

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June, 1961

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# *Current History*

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No. 237

## Foreword

By OSCAR HANDLIN

*Professor of History, Harvard University*

THE MOST visible tendencies in American life today point toward centralization and nationalism. The speed of modern communications, the development of a continental economy, the mobility of our population, and the pressure of common external problems,—all these increase the likeness of Americans and heighten the unifying elements in their lives. The residents of California and Maine, of Oregon and Florida, ever more often watch the same television programs, share the same tastes and rejoice and suffer together. We have therefore become accustomed to seeing the important decisions of our lives made in Washington.

Yet in the immense expanse of this country regional variations still survive and still have significance. In voting behavior and consumption patterns, in cultural and social traits, sectional diversity still makes a difference. No student of the United States can afford to neglect the continuing vitality of these local distinctions.

Sectionalism and regionalism have long been standard terms in the discussion of American life. Frederick Jackson Turner popularized the concept among historians; active schools of sociologists have given it contemporary meaning. Yet it is difficult to arrive at a precise definition of the region. Perhaps the closest we can come to it is to consider the region loosely as a historical unit which is formed by a common experience that endows it with a character of its own.

Certainly it has a geographical base, arising from peculiarities of physiography, topography, soil, climate. But the relationship to the environment cannot be pressed too dogmatically. There are significant geographic variations, even within the regions, the identity of which we must commonly accept.

Ethnic elements are also important, although not alone determining the region. Much of the history of the mid-Atlantic states, for example, is a product of the way in which they acquired their population. So too one must take account of the institutional development of each section, as the influence of slavery on the South has revealed.

To what extent regions have a continuing role to play in American life remains to be seen. In a society that values pluralism, a meaningful nucleus that resists centralizing and unifying tendencies can be creative in the degree to which it allows individuals to satisfy their communal needs in accord with their own temperaments and conditions. It is at least conceivable that regionalism may still be a useful basis for preserving spontaneity and personal independence at a time when the dominant tendencies press toward uniformity and conformity.



*Discussing the problems peculiar to the New England states, this author elaborates on his self-imposed query: "Must it be said that the New England state which is nearest to, and has the most in common with, the Middle Atlantic area is economically the soundest, and that the more truly "Yankee" the locality, the weaker the economy?"*

# The Survival of New England

By WILLIAM B. WHITESIDE

*Associate Professor of History, Bowdoin College*

IN DISCUSSING New England while the centennial of the firing on Fort Sumter is being observed, it would be hard not to compare the tension between old and new—between tradition and innovation—in New England and in the South. These two regions may seem to have little in common. Yet their involvement as contestants in the dramatic events culminating in civil war, and in the war itself, helped create for each the problems and also the opportunities of the present. Moreover, each section, proud of a rich heritage, frequently produces spokesmen fond of contrasting today's troubles with yesterday's vitality and color. Finally, the twentieth century image of old New England, like the twentieth century image of the antebellum South, is one in which elements of myth are blended so intimately with clear, hard fact that it is not easy to separate the two.

Perhaps their traditional restraint has kept the New Englanders from letting their concept of their own past take on the romantic overtones of the familiar Southern myth of

magnolia blossoms and mint juleps and gallant men escorting ladies wearing farthingales to festive balls in Greek mansions. Perhaps a self-deprecatory impulse (which dates at least from Cotton Mather) makes the New England attitude toward the New England past one of self-reproach rather than wistful yearning for something now irrevocably gone with the wind. Like the South, New England has seen the nation's growth destroy the "equilibrium" of its relative political power at the moment of independent nationhood, and has suffered the loss of an economic position once proudly held. New England has not, however, produced a latter-day agrarian movement of poets and essayists who deplore any program for "progress" as a threat to traditional values.

The New England conviction, on the contrary, has been that a commitment to progress has been the region's primary value. The call to reaffirm that value and to renew that commitment has been heard frequently for a generation or more. So it was that in 1933 Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant, sought to teach his region the "inexorable law of the survival of the fittest." Once New England had not only understood that law, but had been "herself the very symbol of fitness." Inventive, resourceful, determined, her business leaders had overcome problems and moved forward. The sons of those leaders, however, were willing to settle for "the preservation of what is." Unable to contend with aggressive, efficient businessmen elsewhere in the United States, New Englanders clung stubbornly to "the dear old primitive equipment that father installed and son is still using." Thus New England had

Brought up in the Midwest, William B. Whiteside came to regard himself as a New Englander by adoption soon after traveling east to pursue his studies and begin his teaching career. In 1953 he joined the faculty of Bowdoin College. His interest in New England social history led to the publication of *The Boston Y.M.C.A. and Community Need: A Century's Evolution, 1851-1951*.



"lost its birthright," but the case was not hopeless. "The very abilities that brought New England its primacy in days past," Filene asserted, could "reestablish New England leadership on a new and sounder basis."<sup>1</sup>

Although it is surprising to come upon an economic analysis couched in social Darwinian terminology as late as 1933, Filene's common-sense views illuminate a crucial aspect of the problems of modern New England. Late colonial New England achieved well-being only by overcoming serious obstacles. Lacking the rich soils and long growing season of the staple-producing parts of the South, New Englanders could not rely upon an exportable surplus of tobacco or rice or wheat or the cattle which, as a contemporary noted sadly, wore a "lean and hungry look." They lacked, too, the raw materials or the capital with which to develop large-scale manufacturing—nor was colonial policy conducive to such enterprise. The resourceful New Englanders turned their eyes seaward, and from the fisheries, from the production of ships and naval stores, and from a lucrative trade with Europe, Africa, and the Indies, the New England ports grew prosperous and New England fortunes were made. Jamaica Plain and Orient Heights symbolized in their very names the source of the wealth which built their fine mansions, and helped create the cosmopolitan flavor of Boston at its commercial height.

After independence the section no longer enjoyed the commercial benefits of membership in the British Empire. Yet "Boston men," finding their way to the Oregon coast and to the Orient, developed new trade. New England's shipbuilding entered the brief but glamorous clipper ship era. Meanwhile other entrepreneurs moved into less glamorous but equally fruitful manufacturing fields. Bringing the South's cotton to the abundant power from New England's many streams, they found a labor force, first, among the farming families, and, later, in the flood of Irish immigrants. Soon New England became the manufacturing center of the young nation.

With the exception of timber for ships and water power for mills, no obvious natural advantages explain the New England achieve-

ment. Imagination and vigor and courage made possible the development of the region's position. An Emerson might lament the tendency to let materialistic values crowd out the finer kind of idealism, but even he was fascinated by the talents of the business leaders about him. "Every man is a consumer, and ought to be a producer. . . . He is by constitution expensive, and needs to be rich."<sup>2</sup>

During the post-Civil War era the momentum appeared to be on the wane. In the mid-Atlantic states as well as in New England, notes Edward C. Kirkland, the foremost industrial area from pre-Civil War days "was conducting essentially a holding operation."<sup>3</sup> The states of the old Northwest Territory were discovering rich stores of iron ore and coal. The rise of Chicago and Detroit and Cleveland and the Twin Cities of Minnesota and many other rail and meat packing and manufacturing and milling centers made a relative decline of New England inevitable. Seymour Harris has calculated that the persons within a radius of 500 miles of the center of Massachusetts—the potential market, presumably, for New England enterprise, had constituted 74 per cent of the nation's population at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but only 32.3 per cent at the end.<sup>4</sup>

The South, too, offered a new challenge. In the 1880's, when the Atlanta editor, Henry Grady, traveled to tell lecture audiences in the Northeastern cities about his vision of a "new South," he was widely applauded. Northerners were reassured to learn that new young leaders below the Mason and Dixon line accepted the results of the War and chose not to brood over it. Raw materials for an industrial South were available, and by recruitment in nearby rural regions (a lesson learned, Kirkland reminds us, from early New England mill owners) a labor force could be found. Might northern investors not care to share in the anticipated profits? One wonders how many aging anti-

<sup>1</sup> Edward A. Filene, "Unemployment in New England: Some Fundamental Factors," in *New England's Prospect: 1933* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1933), pp. 65-95.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Wealth," in *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Modern Library Edition, New York: Random House, 1940), p. 694.

<sup>3</sup> Edward C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life*, 3rd Edition, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951), p. 398.

<sup>4</sup> Seymour E. Harris, *The Economics of New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 34.



slavery agitators—and, for that matter, how many partisans of the Lost Cause—lived to fret or to chuckle over the irony: Southerners, as a result of the conflict in which New England had figured so prominently, now moved boldly to establish competition with New England, and sought with increasing success to lure the textile mills into the cotton region.

If relative decline for New England manufactures in the total national economy could not be prevented, many observers cast about for contributing factors upon which the region's malaise might be blamed. By the turn of the century they were wondering whether New England had not simply sent too many of its most vigorous young men and women to other parts of the country. Writing in 1919, Frederick Jackson Turner estimated that the population of 1850 had included about four million persons of New England birth, of whom more than one-third had become "wanderers." In a rare tribute to Eastern influence upon the frontier Turner spoke of the "Greater New England" in which New England religious and educational institutions and Yankee inventiveness and business sense had spread out to the advantage of the entire nation. Turning his thoughts to the effect of this migration "upon New England *morale*," he saw a number of gains to compensate for the losses suffered. Yet he concluded that by giving vitality to Greater New England the older section had "gained her life by losing it."<sup>5</sup> Stewart Holbrook echoed the thought 30 years later by calling attention to a dissipation of "the race of the Yankees" in New England itself—the price which must be paid for the "residue of New England character" elsewhere in America.<sup>6</sup> And as recently as 1955 G. W. Pierson ventured the thought that New England as a cultural region was no more than an "obstinate concept," for by 1900 the region had "dissipated its population and just about exhausted itself."<sup>7</sup>

Of course New England continued to grow, but it grew by importing people who were anything but Yankees. A typical restrictionist tract in the 1920's, when the nation turned its back upon the melting pot and sharply curtailed immigration, spoke of "the invasion, the occupation, and the conquest of New England by Continental Europeans. . . ." The Yankee stock, argued the author

(whose unmistakably Yankee name of Daniel Chauncey Brewer bespoke a personal sense of urgency in the matter) had betrayed its own heritage by running greedily to the Western gold fields, abandoning the home region before the inundation of foreigners. The entire process bore "damning evidence of [the Yankee's] decadence." Yet Brewer could hope that enough Yankee vitality remained (at least "a drop of red blood" to start the movement) for the true New Englanders to resume the leadership of their region and to transmit their high political standards to the newcomers.<sup>8</sup>

The argument is extreme, but there can be no denying that the mixture of peoples caused tensions which troubled thoughtful New Englanders. Even before the Civil War, Yankee and Irishman had found it hard to learn to live together. The burning of a convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, by a mob of indignant Yankees in 1834 and the "Know-Nothing" activity in the 1850's were early manifestations of persistent tensions.

Yet immigration continued until the congressional action of the 1920's. In 1900 New England had a foreign-born element totalling 1,445,000 persons, or 18.9 per cent of the population of the region as a whole. In 1920 the percentage had risen to 25.5 per cent (as opposed to 13.2 per cent for the nation as a whole), and even as late as 1950 New England's 1,286,000 foreign-born persons represented 13.8 per cent of total population, or more than twice the 6.7 per cent United States average. No other region had such a high proportion of persons of foreign birth, and the three southern New England states each had a higher percentage than any of the other states except New York.

Poles in the onion and tobacco fields of the Connecticut valley, Italians in the shadow of Paul Revere's Old North Church in Boston, Greeks in Lynn and Beverly, French Canadians in Biddeford and Lewiston, all added to the diversity of the New England population. (Yet the Yankee has not entirely

<sup>5</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, "Greater New England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s. vol. 29 (1919), pp. 226, 228, 241.

<sup>6</sup> Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), p. 361.

<sup>7</sup> G. W. Pierson, "The Obstinate Concept of New England," *New England Quarterly*, vol. XXVIII (1955), p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel Chauncey Brewer, *The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), pp. 3, 363, 368.



disappeared from his homeland, scoffs G. W. Pierson. "You can find broods of them on the eroded Vermont hilltops. There is a lovely atoll of Brahmins around Back Bay.")<sup>9</sup>

With growing competition from other areas, with an exodus from the section of many adventuresome persons, with the introduction of strange new groups who seemed unlikely to be assimilated into New England and into America, it is not surprising that voices of gloom came to whisper that New England was washed up. A report published by the Boston Chamber of Commerce in 1911 contained a dreary statement of the theme that the old days were gone forever. The writer spoke despondently of "a loss of primal vigor . . . , a drain of New England energy and initiative." Not too many years later, economists were speaking of "economic arteriosclerosis," and New England's problems were looked upon as those of an aging region. Perhaps inspired more by literary historians than by economists, Arnold J. Toynbee was casting a jaundiced eye upon New England. He regarded Northern New England as evidence that, while challenge is necessary, a hopelessly unfriendly environment can sometimes present an overpowering challenge from which no creative response can be made.

Even Massachusetts and Southern New England, whom Toynbee felt had once made a heartening response to conditions which presented an optimum challenge, impressed Toynbee as a region in decline by the twentieth century. Belief in the hopelessness of the situation persists. The "development executives" who are trying to develop the region are weary of such "crepe-hung phraseology" which they regard as one of New England's major handicaps.<sup>10</sup>

If such pronouncements were uncalled for because of their psychological effects, it could hardly be denied that mid-twentieth century New England, one of the nation's oldest sections, had been dealt serious blows from which even a young, vigorous, expanding economy could not easily recover. A section which had accounted in 1900 for 80 per cent of the nation's cotton textile spindles, in 1947 operated only 17 per cent of the total.<sup>11</sup> Shoes and leather products faced new competition from growing areas in New York,

Pennsylvania, Missouri, and elsewhere. One basic problem was New England's unfavorable location in relation to either raw materials or markets. "The typical New England manufacturer," observed William H. Miernyk, "has competitors located between his factory and every part of the national market outside the Northeast."<sup>12</sup> Unless an economical foreign source of fuel and iron ore could be developed, New England could hardly hope to capture a significant share in the huge post-war increase in the consumption of automobiles, refrigerators and other durable goods.

Nevertheless much progress has been made in the 16 years since the war. In spite of the relative mobility of the shoe industry, the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston reported in 1958 that industry leaders had been sufficiently flexible in changing their product and their methods for the region to hold its own "as the leading shoe producing region of the country." Nearly one-third of all shoes manufactured in the United States were made in New England.<sup>13</sup>

Even in textiles, New Englanders could take some comfort from the thought that the worst was over. A decline from nearly 375,000 jobs in textiles in 1919 to only 144,000 in 1957 might continue, but at a reduced rate. One study indicated that the wage differential between New England and the South had been reduced to the point where further major inroads were unlikely. Although a continued "modest decline" in New England's share of the national textile market must be anticipated, and although more efficient production meant that employment would decline more sharply than total output, there would still be in all probability about 76,000 textile jobs in the region in 1970.<sup>14</sup> Ultimately it may appear that the decline of textiles has not been entirely harmful for New England. Towns which had led

<sup>9</sup> Pierson, *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> George French, *New England: What It Is and What It Is To Be* (Boston: Boston Chamber of Commerce, 1911), pp. 5-6. (The passage is quoted in Turner, "Greater New England," *loc. cit.*, p. 229.) Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> *The Economic State of New England* (Report of the Committee of New England of the National Planning Association, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 443.

<sup>13</sup> Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, *New England Business Review* (February, 1958), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *New England Textile Employment in 1970* (Research Report, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, 1970 Projection No. 16, December, 1959).



a precarious existence as "mill towns" were in some instances recovering from the loss of their mills by attracting a greater diversity of smaller firms.

Connecticut's Pratt and Whitney aircraft engine plant in East Hartford and the Sikorsky helicopter plant near Bridgeport marked a thriving New England venture into a field which provided jobs at wages far above those for the region as a whole. The string of electronics plants along Route 128, the "circumferential highway" around Boston, were a measure of New England's success in developing manufacturing lines in which small products made from light materials reduced the limiting effect of transportation costs, and in which the availability of skilled labor and the brain power of the Greater Boston universities offered an advantage. Someone recently tried to cheer up New England by a metaphor appropriate to the region: "A rising tide raises all the boats." Recent reports suggest that the electronics firms of eastern Massachusetts and elsewhere have been able to weather even the ebbing tide of recession in the winter of 1960-1961.<sup>15</sup>

Do the indications of economic growth apply to New England as a whole? It hardly must be pointed out that the examples so far mentioned have yielded their best results in southern New England. The northern three states have not fared so well. A Department of Commerce report based upon 1951 data showed that per capita income in the three southern states was relatively high: Connecticut was 26 per cent above the United States average, and Massachusetts and Rhode Island were 10 per cent and 7 per cent above the average, respectively. But New Hampshire was 9 per cent below the national average, Vermont was 17 per cent below, and Maine was 18 per cent below the national pattern.<sup>16</sup> Skilled workers in northern New England have in many cases been attracted by higher wages in the southern part of the region, moving, for example, to Hartford to take jobs at the Pratt and Whitney plant. Must it be said that the New England state which is nearest to, and has the most in common with, the Middle Atlantic area is economically the soundest, and that the more truly "Yankee" the locality, the weaker the economy?

Certainly southern New England showed more promise of continued manufacturing growth than did the northernmost states. Yet lower wages have attracted some lines of business northward. The shoe industry has shown some movement into Maine, and that state and Pennsylvania have been the only two states to improve their competitive position significantly since World War II.<sup>17</sup> Northern New England has greatly developed its recreation industry, and in spite of its decline between seasonal peaks in the summer and in the hunting and skiing seasons, recreation has significantly increased the income of these states. As urban "sprawl" continues to take place in the more congested parts of the Middle Atlantic and southern New England regions, society may place an even higher premium upon recreational opportunities where they still exist.

In their post-World War II efforts to improve the regional economy the New Englanders have sought ways to overcome certain regional handicaps through state or federal governmental action. Have the railroad rate policies of the Interstate Commerce Commission discriminated against New England and thus added to already formidable difficulties in competing with more favorably situated parts of the nation? Does New England pay out more to the federal government than she receives in benefits? Have the Southern states, in their courtship of textile firms, unfairly maintained an advantage by refusing to provide a reasonable minimum of state services to the citizens because such services might call for tax increases? Are labor policies in states which compete with New England designed to prevent or retard unionization and to keep wages very low?

The answers to all of these questions are not clearly in the affirmative. Yet New Englanders have felt that the regional welfare required a critical examination of such problems, as well as a more aggressive attempt to correct inequities through legislation where possible. The line between steps to eliminate inequities and steps to gain special favors for New England is not always clear, but New Englanders repeatedly affirm that they do not

(Continued on p. 297)

<sup>15</sup> *New York Times*, February 26, 1961, Section 3, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *The Economic State of New England*, p. 333.

<sup>17</sup> *New England Business Review*, loc. cit., p. 2.



*As this author sees it, "Because of the vital interests of such urban complexes as the New York City and Philadelphia areas spread over a number of state lines, the Middle Atlantic region has a splendid opportunity to demonstrate the fruits of intelligent planning and cooperation if the forces of narrow parochialism can be overcome."*

# Challenge and Response in the Middle Atlantic States

By W. DAVID LEWIS

*Fellowship Coordinator, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation,  
Wilmington, Delaware*

AMERICANS who wish to catch a glimpse of the "New Frontier" envisioned by the Kennedy administration, and to understand some obstacles that could prevent it from being attained, should study the recent history of the Middle Atlantic area with care. Many of the social and economic changes that most profoundly affect American life today have had a particularly severe impact in this region in the past decade, forcing state and local leaders to devise expedients that may shortly be adopted on a national scale. Though these leaders have made considerable progress, they have also encountered some difficulties that may impede the efforts of federal administrators in the future. The accumulated experience of such states as New York, Pennsylvania and West Virginia is thus likely to assume increasing importance for the rest of the nation in the coming years.

The most obvious problem confronting the Middle Atlantic region during 1961 was a business recession that intensified unemployment throughout the area and beclouded economic prospects for the immediate future. In Pennsylvania, where the number of jobless exceeded 500,000 in mid-January, pressure

on state compensation funds became so severe that \$44,500,000 had to be diverted on an emergency basis from the retirement systems of public employees and school teachers. In Maryland, the Baltimore metropolitan area alone had a labor surplus of 60,000 and was placed on the federal government's list of major unemployment centers. New Jersey began the year with 183,000 idle, and in Delaware the number of compensation claims mounted toward an all-time peak. West Virginia, with unemployment running as high as 28 per cent in some localities, faced more layoffs in the future. In New York, where at least 373,000 were out of work before the new year began, Governor Rockefeller proposed a series of emergency measures and asked for a constitutional amendment to permit increased state borrowing for relief purposes.

The mere occurrence of an economic slump did not of itself constitute a distinctively regional problem, for the recession was national in scope. The Middle Atlantic area's unemployment pattern, however, furnished an interesting study in microcosm of the difficulties besetting the American economy. Like the nation at large, the region presented a montage of economic sickness and health in which patches of comparative prosperity and blight existed side by side, reflecting the business and technological changes of the recent past.

Barring an outright depression, it appeared at the beginning of 1961 that most of the Middle Atlantic States had the capacity

W. David Lewis is a part-time member of the department of History at the University of Delaware. He has taught also at Pennsylvania State University and at Hamilton College.



to weather their current business difficulties, although there were indications that the amount of unemployment considered "normal" for the area would be higher after the recession than before. In New York, a broadly diversified economy with an accent on consumer goods, corporate administration, financial activities and professional occupations was further buttressed by such public works projects as the St. Lawrence Seaway, several large highway programs, and the Niagara hydroelectric development. New Jersey business leaders placed confidence in diversified industry and agriculture, proximity to the New York City market, and large programs devoted to highway construction, urban redevelopment and public housing. In Maryland, expanded investment in a variety of industries including steel, brewing and chemicals encouraged Baltimore business interests to predict an early recovery. Though confronted with more than its usual share of idle workers, Delaware had been steadily attracting new industries during the preceding decade and entered 1961 with the lowest rate of unemployment in the region.

#### **Rising Unemployment**

Even within most of these states, however, scattered localities were urgently in need of relief and long-range rehabilitation. Upstate New York, for example, contained a number of "depressed areas" including Albany-Schenectady-Troy, Amsterdam-Johnstown-Gloversville, Utica-Rome, Auburn, Plattsburgh and Buffalo. The causes of distress varied from place to place, but the operation of certain important forces could be clearly discerned in the Middle Atlantic region as a whole. Broadly speaking, the normal tendency of industries to cut costs and increase efficiency has been intensified during recent years because of narrowing profit margins. Automation has been proceeding rapidly in many factories. The recession of 1958 induced some firms to accelerate these activities, accounting in part for the failure of employment to return to pre-recession levels after recovery. In addition, some areas have lost old and established companies to regions of lower labor and tax costs, especially the South. Utica's textile industry, for example, is but a fraction of what it was in 1945. Some localities possessed sufficient

economic diversification to withstand the shock of such developments, and others found salvation in attracting new industries. Those failing to adjust became areas of chronic labor surplus, abnormally sensitive to every contraction of the national economy.

The "depressed areas problem" is best observed in West Virginia and Pennsylvania, where unemployment has been particularly widespread throughout the past decade. In these states the impact of the economic trends just described has been aggravated by technological changes which have lessened the demand for certain products or services. For generations West Virginia based its economy on the extraction of raw materials, especially coal. As the nation's railroads have switched from steam to diesel power, the demand for bituminous coal has dropped considerably. At the same time, the increased use of automation in mining and the outright abandonment of veins which could not be worked at a maximum profit have made severe inroads upon the number of operators employed. According to a recent estimate, there are now only 43,000 jobs available in an industry that once provided work for 120,000 West Virginians.

The social consequences of these circumstances are squalid and half-deserted mining towns, acute privation, and a stream of migration to other parts of the country, that has cost the state 7.2 per cent of its population in the last ten years. Within a short distance of some of the worst-afflicted localities, however, other sections of West Virginia are prospering because of the influx of new industries, especially chemical firms that have established plants in the Kanawha Valley. Unfortunately, the new plants are highly mechanized and employ a relatively low number of workers in proportion to their capitalization and volume of business.

In Pennsylvania, the dependence of large areas upon coal mining has produced the same sort of hardship that prevails in West Virginia. Just as the bituminous industry has suffered from the competition of diesel power, the anthracite business has been badly hurt by the conversion of many homes and industries to the use of oil and gas for heating purposes. Since Pennsylvania produces both types of coal, it has been doubly affected by technological change. The adoption of



the diesel engine by railroads has also created a grave unemployment problem in the city of Altoona, which was once one of the largest repair centers for steam locomotives in America. These difficulties have been compounded on a state-wide level in recent years by layoffs and strikes in the primary metals and wearing apparel industries. As a result, the Keystone State is abnormally affected by general business fluctuations. In the words of Pennsylvania Secretary of Labor and Industry William L. Batt, Jr., "When the nation's economy sneezes, Pennsylvania gets pneumonia."<sup>1</sup>

There are two basic ways to combat such conditions. One of these is to encourage migration from depressed areas to more prosperous localities. Advocates of this approach argue that the American economy is already characterized by a high degree of occupational mobility, and that added inducements to potential emigrants would in time bring labor supply and demand into a better national balance. A Syracuse University group has recently recommended such a solution for the problems of the Auburn, Gloversville and Amsterdam areas in New York. This method, however, has various faults. Many long-established residents of a given locality may not want to leave, however desperate the economic situation. This is particularly true if moving means selling real estate at a loss, leaving relatives, and severing school, club and church ties. The prospects for employment in new areas may be far from certain, and the migrant may merely become an unwelcome member of his new community. Finally, induced migration is unattractive to many leaders because population loss means a decline in political power to the state or area that suffers it.

### New Industry Approach

A new approach, considerably more popular, is to devise ways of attracting new industry into stricken localities. Pennsylvania, which established a pioneer Industrial Development Authority in 1956, has been particularly active in promoting such efforts. Armed with a revolving fund of \$20 million, the P.I.D.A. has made a large number of low-interest loans to aid the financing of new plants in various parts of the state. In order

to qualify for such help, recipient areas must secure 70 per cent of the necessary capital from banks and other private sources. By 1961, this cooperative plan had drawn over 140 new firms into Pennsylvania, capable of giving work to an estimated 25,500 employees under non-recession conditions. A similar program established on the municipal level in Philadelphia has promoted more than \$27 million worth of industrial development since 1958. Stimulated by such examples, the governors of West Virginia and New York have urged their respective state legislatures to set up industrial development authorities. In addition, both Pennsylvania and West Virginia have experimented with retraining programs for unskilled or semi-skilled workers. The Mountain State has also made an intensive statistical survey of available workers and skills which it uses in an effort to attract new industries, and an elaborate study to locate possible plant sites scattered throughout its rugged terrain.

Despite the popularity of this approach, its efficacy is open to serious question. In over four years of effort, the PIDA has provided only a small fraction of the jobs needed in depressed areas throughout Pennsylvania. Contributing money for loans to new industries has also created a severe drain on local funds in some areas. There is an additional danger of attracting mainly small, under-capitalized firms with little hope of long-range stability. Many of the companies that have moved into Pennsylvania are wearing apparel plants which pay low wages and employ mostly women, thereby failing to create jobs for idle coal miners, railway mechanics and steel workers. Furthermore, unless the incoming industry is a completely new venture, one area's gain is merely another locality's loss and the basic problem is only redistributed, not solved. The increasingly severe competition among various states for new firms would seem to impose limits upon the success of any one program unless there is a general rise in business activity which will create enough new plants to go around.

The popularity of attracting new industries to depressed areas instead of encouraging jobless workers to leave them has been registered at the federal level despite the limited results achieved in such states as Pennsylvania. The Eisenhower administra-

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia Bulletin, February 5, 1961.



tion gave firms establishing defense plants in stricken localities special tax amortization advantages, and afforded such areas preferential treatment under the "Buy American Act." If congressional support is forthcoming, the Kennedy administration will go much farther in the same direction. A legislative group headed by Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois has recently advocated a program of revolving low-interest funds for plant expansion and development in labor surplus areas, outright grants to cities with straitened finances, rehabilitation loans for rural areas, and federal support for retraining programs, all to be financed by appropriations totalling \$390 million over a four-year period. If the President succeeds in obtaining such legislation, the Middle Atlantic region will have played an important role as the laboratory in which many of these methods were devised. The results of similar efforts at the state level discourage excessive optimism for the federal program, but there may be some chance for success if there is a sizeable boom in the national economy.

The Middle Atlantic states have also been forced to play a pioneering role by great population shifts that have become particularly noticeable with the disclosure of the 1960 census returns. As a whole, the area has not kept pace with the rate of population growth in the rest of the country, and will lose four seats in Congress as a result.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it has had an absolute gain of over 5 million inhabitants in the last decade, and its large urban centers have experienced significant demographic changes. Every one of the region's major cities lost population between 1950 and 1960, but every metropolitan area registered great increases. This massive shift to the suburbs has created a series of baffling problems which will become increasingly serious in the foreseeable future.

### Shift to the Suburbs

Many of these problems involve mass transportation. The city has increasingly become a place of work, rather than of residence, for a vast body of commuters. Urban officials have attempted to meet the strain on transportation facilities by building great networks of new expressways, beltways, parkways, tunnels and bridges, and by constructing large downtown parking centers capable

of accommodating hundreds of automobiles. Though more of these projects are being hastened to conclusion, the situation is far from remedied. The pace of construction, rapid as it is, lags behind increases in the number of suburbanites and commuters. Also, it is evident that not enough consideration has been given in the past to the need for balanced and coordinated systems of transit using all possible forms of transportation in the most effective manner. Railway services in particular have been allowed to deteriorate badly. They must be revitalized if many city core areas are to escape becoming little more than huge parking lots.<sup>3</sup>

Philadelphia's urban leaders have been especially cognizant of these problems. Without slighting the needs of automobile riders, they have reduced commuting by car and increased the number of railway users by creating the Passenger Service Improvement Corporation, which subsidizes the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroads in order to maintain a schedule of specified rates and services. In addition, the PSIC plans to undertake an extensive modernization of railroad facilities within the city. Municipal officials have also conducted a series of elaborate traffic studies, climaxed by the massive Penn-Jersey survey now approaching completion, and are seeking the support of leaders from the surrounding counties for a genuinely regional solution of the metropolitan area's transit needs.

This comprehensive and imaginative approach has made Philadelphia an increasingly important pioneer in urban mass transportation. Its experience will be particularly valuable for the rest of the country if Congress succeeds in passing a bill currently sponsored by Senator Harrison A. Williams of New Jersey and 18 other colleagues. This measure would set up a long-term federal loan program to improve rapid transit facilities and finance badly-needed traffic research, including pilot and demonstration projects. One type of activity that could be greatly facilitated by such a program is the integra-

<sup>2</sup> New York will lose two representatives, Pennsylvania three, and West Virginia one; Maryland and New Jersey will gain one each. As this article was being written, however, congressional leaders were considering a plan to increase the number of representatives from 435 to 451. Even under this plan the Middle Atlantic States would lose two seats.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line: It's Quicker to Walk," *New Yorker*, September 3, 1960, pp. 95-105.



tion of various rail lines within large cities into single coordinated systems capable of handling vast numbers of users with increased efficiency and dispatch. Philadelphia, for example, contemplates such an arrangement for the Pennsylvania and Reading lines within its limits, with new terminal facilities to be located in the city's leading shopping area.

As more and more citizens leave densely-populated urban cores for outlying suburban areas, the cities face a number of serious social problems. One of the greatest dangers is a serious depletion of the vital middle class which has led the recent exodus. New York city in particular has been the target of much criticism from analysts who fear that Manhattan may become a section in which a few clusters of business establishments will be surrounded by a sea of slum areas for the poor and a sprinkling of luxury apartments for the wealthy. Although the population of the island has decreased over the last ten years, critics assert that there has also been a sharp decline in the amount of available housing because slum-clearance programs have replaced high-density accommodations with office buildings or low-density apartment projects. The result is that the former inhabitants of a slum area are squeezed into once-respectable neighborhoods which have now become as blighted as were the ones subjected to clearance and redevelopment. As more and more middle-class residents flee to the suburbs there is thus a continual dispersion of slums with all their concomitant problems of crime, juvenile delinquency, vice and narcotics addiction.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that Manhattan, possessing a large Negro population to begin with, has absorbed a great number of Puerto Rican emigrants to the United States. These two groups have a much harder time than earlier minorities in overcoming housing discrimination and find it difficult to move outside the city core. Unless more mobility is granted to them in the future, Manhattan may become more and more of a ghetto.

Philadelphia learned by the middle of the last decade that mere slum clearance would not prevent blight from spreading to new districts on the fringes of development areas. Under the imaginative leadership of such

city planners as Edmund G. Bacon, who strongly believes that human values should take precedence over calculations of rent and other purely economic considerations, priority has been given to neighborhood conservation programs which stimulate group pride and transmit a desire for improvement into contiguous residential sections. Thus, while extensive redevelopment areas are being cleared in various parts of the city and provided with attractive modern apartment buildings, a determined betterment effort is taking place in districts which can still be salvaged. The most important of these is a large Central Urban Renewal Area in mid-city, for Philadelphia's leaders are dedicated to keeping the vital core a healthy section from which beneficial impulses will spread throughout the entire metropolitan region.

So far the results are encouraging. The city is actually winning middle-class families back from outlying areas, as well as a number of wealthy citizens who had departed before the current renaissance began. According to a recent study, race relations have also improved in the last several years, and a few white residents who had moved away from integrated neighborhoods have reconsidered and returned.<sup>4</sup> Philadelphia, once one of the shabbiest of American cities, is now one of the most progressive, and should serve increasingly as an example for the rest of the nation. An indication of its stature today is the prominence with which its mayor, Richardson Dilworth, has been mentioned for a cabinet position if the Kennedy administration creates a new government department to deal with urban affairs.

As suburban districts gain large numbers of new inhabitants, they also encounter a number of difficulties. The mushrooming of housing developments in areas which were but recently forest and field has often proceeded in a haphazard, sprawling manner determined largely by the willingness of land-owners to sell at rates acceptable to the developers. As a result, optimum use is not being made of land which will become more and more precious as the suburban population increases. In the absence of careful planning, tracts which could be better

<sup>4</sup> See Charles Abrams, "Opening the Door to Good Neighbors," *New York Times Book Review*, February 5, 1961. p. 1.



adapted to non-residential uses may be subdivided into building lots.

The burgeoning suburban communities must also build schools, roads, water systems, sewer lines and other public facilities, sometimes where none have existed before, but are handicapped in doing so by lacking the broad tax base present in cities having a wide variety of businesses, industries, and other forms of ratable property. The main suburban tax burden falls instead upon residential housing, owned largely by young families heavily encumbered with installment debts, mortgages and the costs of raising children. In the end, these families may be forced farther out into the country or back to the cities. Another possibility is that sections which have previously resisted the introduction of industry will have to accept or even to court it in order to obtain tax funds with which to meet the demand for essential community services.

#### Urban-Suburban Relations

As interworking and interdependent parts of large and complex metropolitan units, the suburbs and the cities urgently need to cooperate in order to solve various common problems—water supply and stream pollution, control of industrial fumes and odors, transportation, police protection and many others. Impeding such cooperative effort, however, are some formidable obstacles, not a few of which are political. Because the large Eastern cities are normally Democratic and the outlying areas Republican, relations between urban and suburban officials are frequently hampered by partisan distrust. In addition, many of our lines of political demarcation—state, county, and township boundaries, drawn in an earlier and far different age—bear little relation to the social and economic realities of the twentieth century. The Pennsylvania portion of the Philadelphia metropolitan area, for example, is under the political control of 3 city governments, 4 counties, 89 boroughs, and 147 townships, often operating at cross purposes. The counties and townships, jealous of power, have kept the county governments comparatively weak, and constructive measures must run the gamut of myriad local interests. Certain projects needing state approval must face a conservative coalition of

upstate rural counties in the legislature. This is not the whole story, however, for the metropolitan area spills out into two other states, New Jersey and Delaware.

Clearly the leaders of the future will have to think increasingly in terms of areas or regions instead of lesser political units if pressing social and economic problems are to be met and solved. Because the vital interests of such urban complexes as the New York city and Philadelphia areas spread over a number of state lines, the Middle Atlantic region has a splendid opportunity to demonstrate the fruits of intelligent planning and cooperation if the forces of narrow parochialism can be overcome. Such constructive activity, possibly accomplished by the creation of regional councils armed with definite powers of action, might be an effective answer to the overloading of the federal government with all sorts of problems that might better be handled on a lower plane.

Fortunately, there are encouraging signs pointing toward increased area-wide planning and cooperation in the future on a scale transcending state boundary lines. The Pennsylvania transportation study of the Philadelphia metropolitan area is a case in point, described by one official as "unique in the United States as an alliance of so many levels and units of government working together."<sup>5</sup> Another impressive achievement is the massive New York Metropolitan Region Study undertaken by the Harvard University Graduate School of Public Administration and covering 22 counties comprising New York city and its environs. Suggested by Regional Plan Association, Inc., a non-profit group interested in the coordinated development of this great urban complex, the project has already resulted in the publication of such books as Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon's *Anatomy of a Metropolis* and Oscar Handlin's *The Newcomers*. The analyses and projections contained in these and other works to follow will be of great usefulness to leaders who must see area problems as parts of an interlocking whole if intelligent answers are to be provided.

This brief discussion by no means exhausts the problems confronting the Middle Atlantic

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<sup>5</sup> Philadelphia Bulletin, February 23, 1961.



*In this analysis of the regional problems peculiar to the South, George B. Tindall observes that "the South has moved more into the mainstream during the twentieth century than is generally realized." However, he continues, "it may be that . . . a South moving into the mainstream need not reject out of hand and indiscriminantly its history and traditions. . . ."*

# The South: Into the Mainstream

By GEORGE B. TINDALL

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SEIZING UPON a phrase used by sociologist George Simpson in the University of North Carolina *News Letter*, Governor Terry Sanford declared in his inaugural address last January that it was time for North Carolina to move into "the mainstream of American life." In Atlanta the publishers of *Manufacturers Record*, the leading spokesman for Southern industrialization since 1882, said in 1958 that it was no longer adequate for a Southern industry to claim that it is the biggest or best "in the South." The horizons and interests of Southern industrialists, they said, had broadened beyond the regional limits, and *Manufacturers Record* was merged into *Industrial Development*, a new national journal of industry published in the South.

The mood they expressed, even the phrase that Governor Sanford used, were not altogether new. As long ago as 1947 Charles S. Johnson, sociologist at Fisk University, gathered a full volume of examples of interracial cooperation and Negro advancement in the South that he gave the title, *Into the Mainstream*. For several decades before that sociologists and economists had been marshaling the lengthy columns of statistics that

showed a region laggard in income, industry, education, health, public welfare and a hundred and one other indices and had called for policies and programs to bring the region abreast of national standards and its own potentialities. What is new is that practical spokesmen of politics and business now can set up as a realistic goal the raising of Southern standards to national levels.

It is not that such standards have as yet been attained. Literature is the one major field of human endeavor in which the recent South may lay claim to national pre-eminence. Since the beginnings in the Southern Renaissance of the 1920's and 1930's, one writer has claimed, the South "has triumphantly taken possession of the American literary world" much as New England did in the mid-nineteenth century. Even so, some of the outstanding figures of the Southern Renaissance have found more congenial accommodations in Northern universities. And many of them, like the sociologists and economists, have inadvertently contributed to an unfortunate image of the South as uniformly and hopelessly backward and ignorant, even barbaric and savage, that has lodged firmly in the minds of too many Americans as a regional stereotype.

Nearly all the indices of regional deficiency, dinned into Southerners' consciousness for at least two generations, pointed back in one way or another to their source, economic poverty. If the region in the same period has come a long way upward in its economics, if its rate of industrial growth has for some time been better than that of the nation, if the region by world standards is relatively well off, with as many motor

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cars, for example, as all Western Europe, its income levels still lag well behind those of the nation. According to the most recent figures (1958) not a single Southern state (the 11 ex-Confederate states plus Kentucky and Oklahoma) had a per capita income that equalled the national average of \$2,057. Florida, the nearest, averaged \$1,876. Texas, the legendary abode of millionaires, had only \$1,814. Mississippi, the lowest, had little more than half the national average, \$1,053.

The consciousness of this lag has been a powerful one, and the remedy in the minds of most Southerners and their leaders has taken the form of efforts to attract and develop industry, to a degree that the promotion of industry has become almost the central theme of Southern history in the past two decades, despite spectacular headlines about more stirring events. Beginning with Governor Hugh White's BAWI (Balance Agriculture with Industry) program in Mississippi in the 1930's (a program that, incidentally, scored an indifferent success) every Southern state has developed a statewide program of industrial promotion in addition to the efforts of local communities. The press in the last two years has carried accounts of Southern governors travelling as far as Europe and South America in search of increased industry and trade. If the programs have been excessively larded with a kind of booster spirit that mistakes advertising for achievement, they have also provided useful informational services for industrialists and the spirit they represent has led to the establishment of institutions for the development of new opportunity, like the Southern Research Institute at Birmingham (since 1946) and the new Research Triangle Foundation in central North Carolina, geared to scientific research for economic development and constituting fair-sized industries.

### Rise of Manufacturing

But despite the importance of promotion and research, the new impetus toward industrial development since the second World War has been largely the result of new economic realities. The second World War set in motion a dynamic of new plants, new skills and growing markets that has tended to feed on itself in the subsequent decade

and a half. The results have been significant if not spectacular. The 1954 Census of Manufactures showed that the South increased its proportion of the total national value added by manufacturing from 12.7 per cent in 1939 to 15.2 per cent in 1954. Preliminary reports from the 1958 Census of Manufactures indicate that the South increased its proportion almost as much in the subsequent four years, to a level of 17.3 per cent. If this long-range trend continues, the South should have within a few years about one-fifth of the nation's industry, as compared to over one-fourth of its land area and population.

Industrialization as the chief key to Southern regional progress is the theme of a recent volume by Vanderbilt economist William H. Nicholls, *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress*, which is highly critical of the South's agrarian tradition as a hindrance to economic development. His book also offers positive programs for development. This requires, he argues, an increasing emphasis in promotional programs upon the provision of objective information for hard-headed industrialists about water resources, the structure of freight rates, the extent of public services, the efficiency of local government and the like. It depends also upon policies to increase electrical power resources, more generous public support for educational and health facilities, more rigorous enforcement of anti-trust laws to prevent the restriction of expansion by industrial monopolies.

Above all, the improvement of Southern standards depends upon facing up more forcefully to the long-recognized fact that the prevalence of low-income agriculture is the fundamental factor in Southern economic deficiencies. Industry can help in two ways: by tapping the still abundant resources of underemployed labor from the farms and by providing increased urban markets for farm products. Yet these contributions have not yet shown any signs of depleting the vast reservoirs of low income agricultural labor which exert a drag on wages all the way up the line. The recent concern with "depressed areas" has centered largely upon urban areas rather than the chronically depressed rural areas; the federal labor-market information services in their attention to "labor-surplus"



areas have concentrated upon urban centers of unemployment without sufficient attention to the significance of chronic rural underemployment.

The solution for many individuals has been migration out of the region; the South, with its high birth rate, has been through its history an important "seed bed" of population for the rest of the country. Even so, public policies to facilitate outmigration can be advocated by leaders in farm areas only at their peril. But Professor Nicholls maintains that they are an economic necessity—depending, however, upon federal policies to maintain a stable and expanding national economy.

In addition to calling for changes in employment services Professor Nicholls has also warned that restrictive union practices and labor legislation may interfere with the shift from farm to factory. Nicholls even argues that setting minimum wage laws too high may interfere with the shift of rural labor to the factory, and thus penalize rather than help the lowest income groups. If this seems redolent of the ancient low-wage philosophy which holds that cheap labor is the chief resource attracting industry into the South, there can be no doubt that cheap labor is the magnet for some industries, although not always the most desirable ones. Still it may be argued that sub-standard industrial wages are in most cases better than sub-standard agricultural wages. However, some economists have argued that, contrary to popular belief, minimum wage laws have not adversely affected industrial employment opportunity. The president of the North Carolina state A.F.L.-C.I.O. claims that the real problem "is not under-industrialization, but the shockingly low wage rates in the industries we already have." Higher factory wage levels, he claims, "would benefit all groups in our state."

Industry aside, there are programs that might help to raise rural standards, according to Nicholls, especially policies to facilitate the movement of additional capital into low-income rural areas, to develop processing and marketing of agricultural products, and to shift resources into agriculture of higher productivity and higher income.

#### Education

Of equal if not greater importance than in-

dustry and agriculture in the priority of long-range Southern needs is the quality of education. The region of lowest incomes is also still the region of the highest birth-rate and the largest proportionate school population. If the statistical indices show the region still running behind in per capita expenditures for school pupils, it should be pointed out that they show also that the South has tapped its resources more than any other region to support the public schools. Per capita school expenditures have lagged like income, but not so much proportionately. In 1956, Louisiana with expenditure of \$282 per pupil was only \$12 behind the national average. Mississippi was lowest, but its expenditure of \$158 was not so low proportionately as its income. Almost every session of Southern legislatures in recent years has provided substantial increases in public school support.

Of all the regions the South stands to benefit most from federal aid to education, and a few of its leaders have acknowledged the fact. The proposal of the Kennedy administration would favor the Southern states because it is based upon needs in terms of incomes and school enrollments; and since many of the children educated in the South migrate to other regions, it is a legitimate matter for national concern. Ironically, many of the congressional opponents of federal aid are from the South. One of their most telling arguments is that federal aid will mean federal control of the schools, even though in a long historical experience, it has not, and there has been no drive to eliminate existing programs of federal aid on this ground. In much of the discussion of the issue one can scarcely discern the fact that extensive federal aid already exists—to the land grant colleges, for vocational education (with excessive emphasis on agriculture), for "federally impacted" areas near military or other installations. Federal aid to education, in fact, goes back to land grants that antedate the Constitution itself; and in the 1910's and 1920's it was Southern congressional leadership that took the lead in developing existing programs.

The needs of higher education in the South have led to one of the most interesting cases of regional cooperation in the country, the Southern Regional Education Board, which has provided an example for the formation of



the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education and the New England Board of Higher Education. Established in 1948 by the Southern Governors' Conference, the S.R.E.B. was supported by some as a means of developing regional institutions for Negroes in order to evade federal court orders for integration. The legal situation, however, has rendered that impossible. The actual activities of the Board have reflected instead, as its Director has said, "a widespread conviction that interstate cooperation was necessary if the Southern states were to develop higher education of the variety and quality required by rapid industrialization and the shift from a predominantly rural to an urban culture." No single state had the resources to develop expensive graduate and professional education in all the areas of its need, but through cooperation they might concentrate upon strengthening regional centers in various specialties.

In the first decade of its existence the Board has developed programs to assist students in taking advanced curricula not offered in their own states, bringing additional financial support to the participating institutions, and rendering unnecessary the establishment of such curricula in each state. These programs have been developed so far in medicine, veterinary medicine, dentistry, social work, architecture and forestry, with additional programs in public health and mental health under consideration. Aside from this the board has provided useful information through research on doctoral programs currently in effect at Southern universities, psychological programs, educational television, future school and college enrollments, graduate education and research in government, faculty hiring procedures, and other pertinent subjects. In addition it took responsibility for a program of research and planning that led to the endorsement by the Southern Governors' Conference in 1959 of another interstate compact to establish a "Southern Nuclear Energy Board" to deal with the development and regulation of the uses of nuclear energy.

The Southern Regional Education Board, however, in its nature cannot contribute to what some educational leaders have long felt would be the most important advance in higher education, the development in the

South of a national university comparable to any. When the General Education Board decided in the late 1940's to disburse its sizable capital and go out of existence, it pursued a long emphasis upon Southern education by appropriations to outstanding private universities in the region for the purpose of increasing faculty salaries. Abraham Flexner, one of the G.E.B. leaders, argued without success that the Board could make its supreme contribution by concentrating its resources upon the development of a first rate university, perhaps at Duke or at the Vanderbilt-Peabody concentration in Nashville. Such a decision, he felt, would result in the establishment of a center that could stand as an example to which other universities and colleges of the region might aspire.

A recent study of graduate education by Bernard Berelson for the Carnegie Corporation judged that no Southern university was either in the "top twelve" or in a second group of ten. Only six of them (Duke, North Carolina, Texas, Tulane, Vanderbilt, and Virginia) have achieved membership in the Association of American Universities. Even beyond the level of graduate training, a new pattern in American intellectual life has been the emergence of centers for advanced study by seasoned scholars such as the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. There is no comparable institution in the South.

### **The Negro Southerner**

Any discussion of Southern economics or education must come around eventually to the question of race, which is intimately linked to both. For Negro Southerners as well as white there has been a slow, very painful, but real process of moving into the mainstream of American life. The status of Southern Negroes has come a long way upward from the days as recent as the 1920's and 1930's when statistics on lynching functioned as one of the main indices of race relations; a long way from the 1940's when Southern political leaders announced that the elimination of the white primary would cause blood to flow in the streets; a long way from a Gallup poll in 1940 in which about half the Southern whites interrogated opposed "equal" education for Negroes, even with



segregation, to a Gallup poll in January, 1961, in which 76 per cent of the Southerners of both races agreed that the day will come "when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same public accommodations."

Already the advance of school desegregation has reached the point where there are only two states (South Carolina and Mississippi) that have not had at least one case of token integration either in the public schools or at the state university, only three (with Alabama) that do not have it now, only four (add Georgia) that have not had it in the public schools. This is not to say that integration is an accomplished fact, of course, far from it. In seventeen states and the District of Columbia that formerly had segregated schools, only 777 out of 6,664 school districts had desegregated schools at the end of 1960, and only 195,625 Negro pupils (6.3 per cent of the total) were in them. In most of the 777 districts a tremendous psychological hurdle has been passed by the beginning of token integration. The headlines, of course, are not captured by instances like the school within six blocks of the writer's home where three Negro first graders entered a formerly all-white school last fall with no screaming mobs, no threats to boycott or close the school.

The sit-in demonstrations inaugurated by a group of Negro college students at Greensboro, North Carolina, in February, 1960, now have settled into a determined long-range program of demonstrations against every form of discrimination and segregation in lunch counters, restaurants, theaters, railway and bus stations, and all other places of public accommodation. In these demonstrations the South has been more fortunate probably than most of its citizens realize in the adoption of Martin Luther King's philosophy and tactics of non-violent resistance. In a situation that frequently fosters cancerous hatred Negro Southerners have fashioned a philosophy of love and good will, appealing to fundamental American and Judeo-Christian traditions. It is the greatest of Southern good fortunes that this represents not only an admirable but an expedient approach, one that already has lowered the barrier of color in many Southern cities.

The way ahead for Negro Southerners is still long and difficult, but the direction of travel has been established and it would be the most serious of delusions for white Southerners to assume that it can be reversed. The increasing pressures for Negro recognition do not represent a sudden and temporary upsurge of excitement that is apt to subside quickly. They are the newest link in a chain of historical events that can be traced back at least to the first decade of the century, through the wartime campaigns for equal employment opportunities, the beginnings of the legal attack on educational inequalities in the 1930's, an organized campaign against lynching in the 1920's, the establishment of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (now the Southern Regional Council) in 1919, court victories over residential segregation laws in 1917 and the grandfather clause in 1915, back at least to the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909. Recent developments are the fruits of a long-range campaign over better than a half-century for the ultimate integration of Negro Americans into the fullest promise of American life.

While it seems safe to assume that racism and discrimination will not disappear altogether in the lifetime of the present generation, the fast-moving developments of the last decade are enough to make one wary of cautious predictions. The decisive defeat of strongly segregationist candidates in North Carolina and Tennessee last summer indicates that there may not be much political mileage left in segregationist campaigns outside the Southernmost tier of states (and perhaps Arkansas). And recent legislation even in Louisiana and Georgia for local option on school matters seems to represent an unacknowledged weakening of the determination to maintain a rigid color line. However, the best that Negroes can yet expect from Southern politicians anywhere, under the circumstances, is evasion or silence on the segregation issue, with a few startling exceptions like Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta or Maury Maverick, Jr., and Henry B. Gonzalez, senatorial candidates in Texas this spring.

Yet even in politics the South has moved more into the mainstream during the twenti-

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*"Approximately 20 per cent of all the people in the United States live in . . . the Middle West and many of them play an important part in making the steel, automobiles, machinery and other tools that are of strategic value in time of war as well as peace."*

# The Middle West: Economic Blight

By THEODORE SALOUTOS

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THE STATES that originally comprised the historic old Northwest Territory—Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin—along with Minnesota and Iowa, have undergone radical changes since the mid-nineteenth century when they were predominantly agricultural. The steady flow of capital, industry and people into them has created such a wide diversity of interests that nowadays it is difficult to find an issue capable of swaying their voters on a sectional basis. Here are found the principal automobile manufacturing plants, and some of the leading iron, steel, livestock, corn, and dairy-producing centers of the nation. An excellent array of institutions of higher learning, art institutes and museums, and a heavy influx of diverse ethnic, racial and religious strains have given these states a greater degree of cosmopolitanism than is generally realized.

Little need be said of the historical importance of this region. It is a matter of common knowledge that the old Northwest Territory furnished the pattern for the ad-

mission of all subsequent territories into the union as states, and that issues such as land settlement, an outlet to the sea, and military defenses once gave this region a sectional consciousness. Its importance as a food producing center has never been questioned. Those proud of its liberal heritage recall with pride that it was this area that gave birth to the once radical Republican party, served as the spring-board for the early Grangers, the Progressive politics of Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, the Wallaces of Iowa, the Farmer Labor party of Floyd Olson and its lineal descendant, the Minnesota Democratic Farmer labor party of Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy and Orville Freeman. Those with long memories of an illiberal tradition point with serious misgivings to the rantings of the "Bible Belt" preachers, the anti-saloon league, the nativist American Protective Society of Iowa, the Ku Klux Klan of Indiana, the Black Legion of Michigan, and the demagoguery of Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin. At least one thing is apparent, these states carried their prejudices lightly and changed them with a "refreshing frequency."

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## Population: Growth and Composition

"Growthmanship" has become such a firmly-planted concept these days that one can hardly speak of a given situation without being questioned about its rate of growth. This has been one of the concerns of the census takers.

According to the 1960 count, the population of the five states of the Old Northwest was 36,225,024, which was a gain of 5,825,626 people or a 19.2 per cent increase over the tabulation of 1950. This rate of growth, however, does not compare so favorably as



that of the Pacific States (40.2), the Mountain States (35.2), and the South Atlantic States (22.6) whose general average was boosted by the spectacular gains of Florida.

In 1960, Illinois was the fourth most populous state in the country, and certainly the most populous in the contingent of states under consideration, but the following table indicates that the rate of population growth was slower than that of Ohio and Michigan.

State	Population 1950	Population 1960	Increase	%
Illinois	8,712,176	10,081,158	1,368,453	15.7
Ohio	7,946,627	9,706,397	1,759,770	22.1
Michigan	6,371,766	7,823,194	1,451,428	22.8
Indiana	3,934,224	4,662,498	728,274	18.5
Wisconsin	3,434,575	3,951,777	517,202	15.1
Minnesota	2,982,483	3,413,864	431,381	14.5
Iowa	2,621,073	2,757,537	136,464	5.2

Of these only Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio were able to equal or exceed the 18.5 per cent average increase for the nation during the 1950's.

The ethnic and racial composition of the population is representative of that of the more populous centers of the country. Large pockets of the foreign-born, their offspring, and Negroes are found in all the major metropolitan areas. Illinois, Michigan and Ohio are among the five northern states having large numbers of Negroes whose votes could prove crucial in a close election. These states likewise have large numbers of citizens of foreign extraction.

Roman Catholicism is well-represented, but not quite so heavily as it is in the New England states. Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Minnesota had in excess of the average percentage of Catholics—estimated at 21.5 per cent for the nation as a whole. Indications are that the Catholics continue to increase at a faster rate than the Protestants.

### The Economy

Agriculture, in terms of population and source of income, occupies a secondary position in the economies of most of these states. In 1940 all the states of the Old Northwest had larger urban populations, including Wisconsin, whose city dwellers comprised 53.5 per cent of the total. Minnesota as yet had not crossed over into the urban column, while Iowa was even further in arrears. By 1960,

however, all seven states were more urban than rural as illustrated by the following table.

Urban-Rural Population, 1960					
State	Urban	%	Rural	%	Total
Ohio	7,116,556	73.3	2,589,841	26.7	9,706,397
Ind.	2,910,149	62.4	1,752,349	37.6	4,662,498
Ill.	8,133,282	80.7	1,947,876	19.3	10,081,158
Mich.	5,739,179	73.4	2,084,062	26.6	7,823,194
Wisc.	2,522,179	63.8	1,429,598	36.2	3,951,777
Minn.	2,122,556	62.2	1,521,988	37.8	3,413,864
Iowa	1,462,512	53.0	1,295,025	47.0	2,757,537

The encroachments of the urban-industrial way of life hardly had obliterated the importance of agriculture to the region. The small family-sized farm still predominated. Combined, these seven states had 1,156,848 farms in them in 1954. Of these some 1,134,556 farms had less than 500 acres in them, 19,922 from 500 to 999 acres, and only 2,370 had 1,000 or more acres in them. Minnesota claimed 725 farms with more than 1,000 acres, and Illinois 426. Minnesota also led in the 500 to 999 acre bracket with 5,084 farms, followed by Illinois with 4,504, and Iowa with 3,284.

The tenancy rates seem to conform to the patterns of the past. The percentage of farms managed by tenants in the various states in 1954 were as follows: Iowa, 38.3; Illinois, 34.9; Minnesota, 19.4; Indiana, 18.4; Ohio, 16.6; Wisconsin, 14.5; and Michigan, 7.4. Insofar as these states are concerned it appears that the old maxim holds true; the higher the price of land, the higher the rate of tenancy.

The number of farms has been declining in these states as it has in other parts of the country. The continued expansion of urban communities into the suburban and rural areas, the construction of more states and federal highways, the technological revolution in farming, and the shift of people from the country to the city accounts in part for this shrinkage.

Obviously the decline in the number of farms has been the greatest in the states with the heaviest concentration of cities and industry, and the least in those in which the dependence on agriculture has been less pronounced. Ohio and Illinois had 255,146 and 231,312 farms respectively in 1935, and 177,098 and 175,705 farms in 1954. Iowa, the most agricultural of the states under con-



sideration, had 221,986 farms in 1935, and 193,009 farms or 28,977 fewer in 1954.

Manufacturing and heavy industries have given a good deal of diversity to the economies of these states. Illinois and Ohio followed by Michigan lead all other states in the number of manufacturing establishments, employees, size of payrolls, and in the value added to manufacturing. However, census sources indicate that during 1958 the capital expenditures for manufacturing in Ohio exceeded those in Illinois, and surpassed by an even wider margin those in Michigan.

Ohio's manufacturing wealth is widely diffused. State officials claimed that in 1960 their state produced one-fifth of the nation's steel, ranked second in automobile production, was a leading producer of machine tools and clay products, and had reserves of natural resources that insured their people a diversified economy for years to come.

The economy of Indiana within recent years has enjoyed a certain vigor and vitality that has enabled it to withstand the shock of a steel strike and a minor recession better than some of its neighbors. Some attribute this to the balance that exists between agriculture and industry. During 1959, every third person in Indiana was employed in manufacturing, and more than 30 per cent of the farmers held part-time jobs in industry. Indiana had all the attributes of an urbanized economy.

In Illinois the bulk of the industrial economy is concentrated in the Chicago area and diversified in nature, with a heavy emphasis on steel and durable goods. Early in 1961, two-thirds of the state's labor force, numbering more than 4.25 million persons, was found in the Chicago area; the skills ranged from foundry workers to women engaged in making delicate electronics parts. Furthermore, Illinois remains a very important commercial and financial center; it is a leader in the service industries; and it obtains a substantial portion of its cash income from agriculture.

Michigan retains its importance as the chief automobile manufacturing center, but its former preeminence in the field has been eroding rather rapidly. This earlier position of leadership stemmed from certain advantages that have since disappeared or are not so important as they used to be: its proximity

to related industries, the availability of loan capital when the industry was in its infancy, the fact that the Middle West was transportation conscious, and the influence of prominent pioneers such as Henry Ford, Ransom E. Olds, Elwood Haynes, and others who lived there.

Wisconsin is still thought of as a farming state, but almost 40 per cent of its income comes from manufacturing. Its industries, concentrated for the most part in the southeastern part of the state, are diversified. Most of the farm income comes from dairy products, cattle, hogs, and eggs. The products of its agriculture provide most of the jobs in food processing, leather tanning, lumber products, and other forms of employment.

Minnesota is slightly more of an agricultural state than Wisconsin, but it has made rapid strides in manufacturing. In 1958 Minnesota was first among the states of the nation in the production of crude iron ore, which was essential to the northeastern part of the state and the Lake Superior region. Its farmers depend heavily on cattle, dairy products, hogs, and soybeans for their income.

Iowa, as we have indicated, remains the most agricultural of the states under consideration. It has more farmers than any other of the seven states, possesses 25 per cent of the Grade A land in the United States, and in 1959 produced 10 per cent of the nation's food. Cattle, hogs, corn and soybeans are its principal sources of farm income. Manufacturing has made less headway than it has in the neighboring states to the east, but the indications are that it will continue to increase in the future.

The expansion of our industrial-urban society has resulted in a heavy inflow of people into the metropolitan areas of Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland, and the outflow of certain occupational and professional groups into the suburbs. These burgeoning population loads and our ever-increasing motorized society have created needs for more and better public highways, schools, teachers and social services that in turn have caused state tax loads to zoom upwards. Automation, the increased number of older citizens, the competition of other regions in industry and trade, housing shortages, and the resulting



social tensions are merely symptoms of a social economy undergoing sweeping changes.

### Decentralization

Until 1929 or even 1939 the states around the Great Lakes constituted the heart of the nation's industrial growth, but since then the trend has been away from the Great Lakes. This began to take general form by the late 1940's. The proportion of new plant construction in these states was running below the proportional slice of total manufacturing for the United States. The losses appeared larger in automobiles, machinery and steel, industries in which these states boasted very heavy concentrations.

After World War II the automobile manufacturers in Michigan began to decentralize their plant operations. This came in response to changing conditions, the necessity of capturing the broad middle class suburban market which the automobile helped make possible, and the rise of new communities and urban areas in the Pacific Northwest, California, the Gulf Coast, and the Old South. New dealerships and regional assembly plants were established in the vicinities of these new communities. This had a chain reaction in influencing the relocation of metal work manufacturers, the tool and die industries, foundries, parts and accessories manufacturers, as well as other major industries and corporations that were large users of motor vehicles.

The depletion of the iron resources of the Mesabi range in the Lake Superior region has been another major drawback. Minnesotans have been watching the dwindling importance of a region they once boasted had been responsible for the winning of the first two World Wars. Competition from Venezuela, Canada and other parts of the United States has hurt the Mesabi country.

The declining importance of Mesabi ore and the emergence of new sources of supply affected the geographic pattern of the steel industry, which has been so vital to the economies of these states, with the adoption of a program of decentralization. During 1952, the United States Steel Corporation put up the Fairless Works in Morrisville, Pennsylvania, in order to be closer to Venezuelan ore and the eastern market. Naturally this affected the automobile industry,

the greatest single user of steel, and caused it and other industries dependent on it to locate nearer the relocated steel mills.

Another factor in decentralization—automobile manufacturing again being a classic example of this—has been the desire to find labor that is cheaper, less demanding, and free from the volatile atmosphere that prevailed in the Detroit area. The automobile manufacturers felt that there were distinct advantages to locating in the South, even though industry-wide bargaining insured equality of wages throughout the nation. They believed that in the South the workers would be more satisfied with their wages than in northern areas where living standards were relatively high, relations between management and labor would be more harmonious, and management would have a freer hand in installing labor-saving equipment because the branch plants would be free of union resistance.

Also of consequence have been the efforts of the national government and private industry to minimize "atomic vulnerability" through a conscious strategy of dispersal. This was accelerated by the inauguration of the National Industrial Dispersion Program to locate new plants outside defined target areas through the use of tax amortization privileges. The vulnerability of some of the prime defense industries to atomic attack has encouraged executives to consider industrial dispersal as a good form of insurance, so long as it did not conflict with the dominant economic goals.

### Social and Economic Tensions

Wars accelerate social change just as much as they hasten medical and technological progress. One major development of the last war was the mass migration of people from older to newer areas of settlement. This was especially noticeable among the Negroes.

As had been the case during and after the First World War, a wave of Negroes again radiated from the South into northern cities during and after the Second World War and the Korean conflict. In most instances their migration was inspired by job opportunities. In fact, many Negroes were recruited in their home communities by personnel representatives of the major companies or relatives in order to fill vital wartime occupations. Many



proved capable in their new surroundings and were accepted by the whites as persons working for identical goals.

The Negroes were attracted to the major metropolitan areas. During the 1940's the Negro populations of Chicago and Cleveland increased by 227,000 and 65,000, while those of the whites decreased by 3,000 and 28,000 respectively. From 1950 through 1956 Chicago gained a net of 83,600 Negroes and lost 37,800 whites. Detroit experienced a comparable development.

The Negroes generally obtained cheap and old housing formerly occupied by whites living near the center of the major urban areas and adjacent to the Negro neighborhoods. Their housing pattern tended to parallel that of the former unskilled European immigrants who congregated in neighborhoods of Irish, Polish, Jewish, Italian and German settlers. The Negro was undergoing a process of urbanization comparable to the Americanization process of the immigrant. Perhaps the main difference is that the immigrant neighborhood tended to change or disappear with time, while that of the Negro tended to persist.

Employment opportunities in the industrial centers were limited even before the recession of 1959-1960. Prejudice, the disparity in education, and society's demand that the Negroes must offer more than white applicants for the same job kept many from technical, managerial and clerical jobs.

Negroes participated freely in elections in the northern cities; in fact their vote was openly courted by the politicians. Chicago and Detroit could boast of Negro congressmen and a host of lesser officials. The Negro vote probably was decisive in 1960 in Illinois and Michigan where Kennedy's margin of victory was narrow.

The need for more schools, roads, institutions, and myriads of other enterprises created demands for more revenue, and with them acute financial problems. Michigan and Illinois are representative perhaps of the financially hard-pressed states. Michigan's financial muddle was aggravated by a shameful display of partisan politics. G. Mennen Williams in each of his six terms as governor faced the opposition Republican party that controlled the Senate and on occasion even

managed to organize the House. This was worsened by the state's reliance on the three per cent sales tax for most of its revenue. Late in 1959 the legislature found new sources of revenue and financial conditions improved during 1960, but in the meantime Michigan suffered from a good deal of adverse publicity. A constitutional change approved by the voters permitted an increase in the sales tax from three to four per cent.

Illinois' budgetary difficulties began in 1959 when the legislature voted more than \$110,000,000 in appropriations without providing the needed tax income. Governor William Stratton, while in office, froze more than \$75,000,000 in appropriations, mostly for capital improvements to keep the state in the black. But after his defeat in November, 1960, he approved many of these construction projects, and thus placed a heavier drain on the treasury.

Governor Otto Kerner, his Democratic successor, asked for a crash program consisting of a broader sales tax base and an increase in the corporation franchise tax. This latter recommendation drew fire from the Illinois Manufacturers' Association which said that one of the principal reasons for the industrial development of Illinois has been its favorable tax climate.

Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the other states had financial worries of lesser gravity, at least as of early 1961, that could worsen if the depression persisted.

Unemployment and sagging incomes were threatening the economies of most of these states. There were 320,000 out of work in Michigan in mid-January, 1961—165,000 of them in Detroit. Increased automation, the competition of foreign-built cars and components, and decentralization have sent the unemployment rate for Michigan up to 11.5 per cent of the labor force, and for Detroit up to 12 per cent. In some of the coal-mining counties of southern Illinois, unemployment has been running as high as 25 per cent. Upper Minnesota's Mesabi iron range, we have seen, has been hit by a form of economic blight that has given all or part of its market to competitors.

Other problems such as the need for reapportionment in Iowa, to give the city residents fairer representation in the state government, and the conservation needs of



upper Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan appear to have been crowded out of the picture by the economic pall that has been hanging over a number of these states. The more optimistic claim that this soon will lift; others are less certain.

#### Summary

These states occupy a key role in our complex urban and industrial economy. Approximately 20 per cent of all the people in the United States live in them, and many of them play an important part in making the steel, automobiles, machinery and other tools that are of strategic value in times of war as well as peace. These states have access to some of the finest rail, air, lake and river transportation facilities in the world. Iowa has been a primary producer of food, while Wisconsin and Minnesota have been leaders in dairy and livestock production.

As in the days of the Grangers and the Progressives, the people in these states tend to look beyond their resources. Many, if not most, look hopefully to the federal government for the eventual solution of their economic ills. Of late this philosophy has been represented best by the resurging farmer-

labor tradition in Minnesota, and the piecemeal revival of progressivism in Wisconsin in the form of the Democratic party. In the United States Senate the most articulate spokesmen of this insurgent spirit have been Paul Douglas of Illinois, Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, and William Proxmire of Wisconsin. Even more telling has been the appointment by President Kennedy of three former governors of Middle Western states to ranking federal positions: Adlai Stevenson of Illinois as United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Orville Freeman of Minnesota as Secretary of Agriculture, and G. Mennen Williams of Michigan as Under Secretary of State in charge of African Affairs.

The Middle West is a vigorous vital force in the economic life of the nation. Its problems are basically those of an urban-industrial society, the gravity of which could have violent repercussions on the rest of the country. Politically, it hardly is the haven for the political neanderthals that its critics would have one believe. Its liberal spirit, though periodically squelched, is far from dead; on occasions it gives evidence of being as vigorous as ever.

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States. Under the leadership of Nelson Rockefeller, New York has made progress in setting up an effective tax system; in some other parts of the region, however, government officials struggle to meet rising revenue needs with haphazard and fundamentally regressive expedients. New Jersey, with neither a sales nor an income tax, places enormous burdens upon real estate. Pennsylvania, disdaining an income tax, has adopted the highest sales taxes of any state except Washington. All the states face the problem of meeting increasing school needs without swamping local residents under mounting levies. Higher education must also receive more and more attention as the number of college-age youth increases throughout the region. Correctional facilities in a number of states are old, inadequate and outmoded. In dealing with these and other matters, however, the Middle Atlantic

area has shown few signs of taking significant pioneering action, and might learn much from other sections of the country. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, for example, could take lessons from the Middle West in supporting state university systems and planning for their future needs.

It is easy to find fault, but much more profitable to emphasize the ways in which the experience of the Middle Atlantic region during the past decade is particularly meaningful to the nation as a whole. Small in size but large in population, diversified industrially but deeply affected by the economic and technological changes of the recent past, the section has made a creative response to problems of far more than regional significance. In doing so, it has contributed substantially to the new federal administration's vision of what America can accomplish in the future.



*"All groups on the Great Plains should work to establish a prosperous agriculture because when farmers are poor, the entire region suffers." This specialist analyzes the problems of the area, warning that "Unfortunately, the farm problem cannot be solved within the region itself."*

# The Great Plains: A Colonial Area

By GILBERT C. FITE

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**I**N SEPTEMBER, 1936, President Franklin D. Roosevelt set up a special committee to make a report "on a long term program for the efficient utilization of the resources of the Great Plains area." A few months later the committee's findings and recommendations were published in *The Future of the Great Plains*. By that time, however, thousands of citizens were convinced that the Great Plains had no future. The severe droughts from 1933 to 1937 and the terrible and spectacular dust storms had driven hundreds of families out of the region. It seemed as though man had finally lost the struggle with nature. But fortunately the region's future was not so black as the boiling clouds of dust seemed to indicate.

The Great Plains is an immense area which extends for some 1300 miles from Canada in the north nearly to Mexico in the south. The region is clearly bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains, but the eastern boundary is less well defined. Generally, however, the eastern edge of the Plains is that transition zone, marked by declining rainfall and changing vegetation, along a line running roughly from eastern North Dakota southward to the area of Wichita Falls, Texas, and

then on southwestward. It includes the eastern parts of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico, and the western portions of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and northwest Texas. This vast area includes approximately one-fifth of the continental United States.

The most unique feature of the Great Plains region is its semiaridity. It is not an arid desert as early explorers seemed to think; neither is it humid like the region from Iowa and Missouri eastward. Rather, some years are extremely dry, while others are wet. The rainfall averages 20 inches or more a year on the eastern edge of the Plains, but declines to as little as 14 to 16 inches in the extreme western Dakotas. Rainfall in eastern Colorado has been known to drop to less than eight inches a year. The high variability and uncertainty of rainfall have been the scourge of farmers and ranchers in the region. Except along the rivers and streams there are very few trees on the Plains. Extremes of temperature are common, and the winds blow at a high velocity, hot in summer and cold in winter. Much of the land is almost as level as a floor, while some parts are rough and rolling.

The Great Plains provided the last agricultural frontier in the United States. At the close of the Civil War, settlement had reached eastern Kansas and Nebraska, and extreme southeast Dakota, but farmers, land speculators and businessmen were anxious to push further westward. Driven by a strong desire for land, and encouraged by the Homestead Act and other land legislation, farmers moved onto the Plains. Settlers were also lured by propaganda from railroad com-

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panies, town site promoters, and state and territorial immigration agencies. Within three decades a large portion of the Plains was carved into farms. Cattlemen who had occupied the region in the 1870's and early 1880's were forced to restrict or abandon open range operations.

### Early History

Unusually wet years between 1880 and 1886 drew a steady stream of settlers to western Kansas and Nebraska. Many unknowing emigrants were convinced that settlement and cultivation were bringing a permanent change in the climate. Rainfall, it was foolishly said, followed the plow. Consequently, thousands of farmers pushed west of the 100rd meridian without at first realizing that they had entered a region where farming was extremely risky due to scant and variable rainfall. They did not know, or would not believe, that cycles of wet and dry years were characteristic of the Plains.

In the late 1880's and early 1890's, however, severe drought struck large sections of the Plains. Literally starved out, thousands of farmers in eastern Colorado and western Kansas and Nebraska forsook their sod shanties, and returned to the more humid East. There were 68,328 people in 24 counties in western Kansas in 1890 but in 1900 only 50,118 remained.

By the late 1890's both rainfall and agricultural prices began to increase, and a new wet cycle drew farmers as if by a magnet to the remaining lands on the Great Plains. Eastern Montana and western Dakotas were settled, for the most part, between 1910 and 1920. Farmers also pushed into the Texas Panhandle and onto the Southern Plains after 1900.

Between 1880 and 1920, millions of acres of marginal land that should have been left in grass were plowed and planted to wheat. This was especially true during World War I when the urgent call came for more food-stuffs. Montana farmers grew only 258,000 acres of wheat in 1909, but by 1919 this had increased to 1,698,000 acres. Farmers in Kansas doubled their wheat acreage in the same decade, and North Dakota wheat growers planted nearly a million acres more in 1919 than ten years earlier. By World War I the Great Plains had become the na-

tion's Wheat Belt, the American granary, and this position became even more firmly established in the 1920's when rainfall was generally sufficient for successful wheat production.

In 1929 Great Plains farmers harvested 41 million acres of wheat which was about two-thirds of the total acreage, and they produced more than half of the nation's output. Wheat raising, however, was a boom and bust proposition for Plains farmers. Some struck it rich in a single year of favorable moisture and high prices. But crop failures were common and prices were often low, conditions which forced many operators to lose their farms and become tenants.

Favorable moisture conditions in the 1920's caused many residents of the Great Plains to overlook the region's true climate. They forgot the dry years and made little or no preparation for the time when the rains would not come. But drought did return and it was worse than even the oldest residents of the Plains could remember. It was dry in 1930, and thousands of farmers turned to the federal government for loans to buy feed and seed. But this was only preliminary to much worse weather ahead. From 1933 to 1937 drought and dust storms exceeded anything white men had ever experienced on the Plains.

Millions of acres of land were severely damaged by wind erosion. Young wheat plants were literally blown out of the ground and the wind blew away the soil, exposing grass roots. Some plants were smothered under dunes of dust. Many farmers had four straight crop failures and those who held on did so by working on relief and getting payments under the Agriculture Adjustment Act. But thousands of farmers lost out in their contest with the elements, and they left the Dust Bowl for the West Coast and elsewhere. Thousands of old jalopies that headed westward along highway 66 in the spring of 1935 bore license plates from counties in western Oklahoma, Texas and Southwest Kansas.

Every aspect of Great Plains life was adversely affected by drought and depression which ruined farm income. The relief rolls increased, local bankers and other lending agencies acquired thousands of acres of land through foreclosure, farm implement dealers went broke, local taxes could not be collected,



and school teachers had to accept warrants negotiable at heavy discounts in payment of their meager salaries. But as in the past, the Great Plains came back.

### Prosperity and Confidence Returns

Abundant rainfall, good crops and high wheat prices combined during World War II to restore confidence and prosperity among Great Plains farmers and businessmen. The immediate postwar years were also prosperous until interrupted by the widespread droughts of the 1950's. But even when some unfavorable years are included, the Great Plains states produced an average of 668,916,000 bushels of wheat annually in the period from 1947 to 1956. Government acreage controls had little effect in reducing production. In 1958 total United States production reached 1,462,218,000 bushels of which the Great Plains States produced 978,748,000 bushels, or about 67 per cent of the nation's total output.

Although wheat is the principal crop of Great Plains farmers today, sorghum grains are running a strong second. From Nebraska southward into Texas these drought-resistant row crops have become extremely important since the end of World War II. In 1958 more than 528,000,000 bushels of sorghum grains were produced in the ten states which make up the Great Plains. Much of this is fed to cattle in the region, a development which is causing concern among cattle feeders in the Corn Belt.

On the Southern Plains, cotton has become a major crop since the 1920's. In Southwest Oklahoma and West Texas both dry land and irrigated cotton is grown. Some of the most fabulous cotton country in the entire United States is located around Lubbock, Texas, where water from deep wells is used for irrigation. West Texas alone produces much more cotton than Alabama, South Carolina or Georgia. Farmers on the Great Plains are also heavy producers of livestock. In 1958 they had about one-third of the cattle and half of the sheep in the United States. Over-all, the Great Plains is a fabulous agricultural empire. Cash-grain, and grain and livestock farms predominate, with cotton an added income producer on the Southern Plains.

Farming on the Great Plains has been in

the past, and is, even more so today, characterized by extensive operations. The original settlement pattern was mostly in small units of 160 acres, but these farms proved uneconomic in the semiarid region. During the twentieth century, and especially since 1940, farms and ranches have been growing steadily larger. In 1940 there were about 500,000 farms on the Great Plains, but by 1955 this number had dropped to around 400,000. Between 1950 and 1955 about 1,000 farms a year disappeared in North Dakota and the land was absorbed into larger units. In the North Texas Panhandle farms averaged 1,203 acres in 1955, while 8,726 farms in Southwestern Kansas contained an average of 1,113 acres. Farms and ranches in Montana averaged 1,859 acres. Thousands of these farms today are worth between \$100,000 and \$200,000. The small farm is mostly only of historic interest on the Great Plains, and larger units more nearly suitable to the geography and climate of the region have become prevalent.

The level terrain of the Great Plains has encouraged a high degree of mechanization which in turn has made possible larger and larger farming operations. Tractors, the self-propelled combine harvester-thresher, and other machines till and harvest the vast acres in record time. A farmer in the Texas Panhandle has fastened a number of grain drills together and fashioned a machine which can sow 640 acres of wheat a day. Many of the largest farmers on the Plains have \$50,000 and more invested in machinery and equipment.

The economy of the Great Plains is heavily dependent upon agriculture, although in recent years other sources of income have helped to provide a better economic balance. The expansion of oil and gas production in the Southern Plains, and the development of oil in the Williston Basin of North Dakota and Eastern Montana have done much to improve economic conditions in those areas. It is a common sight to see oil wells pumping in the middle of wheat fields in the Texas Panhandle and other parts of the Plains. Another economic boon to the region has been the government military establishments. Air bases at Rapid City, South Dakota, Cheyenne, Wyoming, and at Amarillo and Lubbock, Texas, are examples of huge



government operations which have done much to strengthen the economies of those communities. Tinker Airforce Base at Oklahoma City is Oklahoma's largest payroll.

But in the Great Plains proper, life is still essentially rural and most people live on farms or in small towns. The population of the Dakotas was about 65 per cent rural in 1960. The farm population, however, is declining rapidly as larger and larger agricultural operations are organized, and many small towns which depend on farming are losing population. In Jerauld County in east-central South Dakota every rural township lost population between 1950 and 1960. Of the 218 incorporated and unincorporated places in the state, 95 of them had fewer people in 1960 than a decade earlier. All over the vast Plains region, the population is barely holding even or gaining only slightly. What gains have been registered are primarily in the larger towns of between 5,000 and 20,000.

Cities in the region are located mostly on the periphery with Denver on the West and Sioux City, Omaha, Wichita and Oklahoma City on the East. Only Amarillo and Lubbock, cities of more than 125,000, are on the Plains proper. The Plains States lack water, skilled workers, good markets, transportation and many of the other things that draw industry. Consequently, the prospects of developing manufacturing which would stimulate the growth of cities are not bright. All of the states are seeking additional industry, but with only limited success.

Since farming is so important, the region's main economic problem is that of maintaining a prosperous agriculture. Unfortunately, the farm problem cannot be solved within the region itself. Great Plains farmers have contributed greatly to the 1.4 billion bushel wheat surplus which is presently plaguing officials in Washington. Producers have been urged to grow less wheat, but actually they have few alternative crops as profitable as wheat. About the only suitable rotation in the South is sorghums and in the North barley and flax. There is no immediate solution in sight for the surplus wheat problem except rigid production controls which Congress has so far failed to implement, or vastly expanded exports. More grasses and legumes can be planted but

this could easily encourage greater livestock production and depress prices.

### The Farm Problem

The other aspect of the farmer's difficulty is also part of the national problem and outside individual solution. His fixed costs for such things as machinery and gasoline are high while prices for his principal products have tended to weaken. This has resulted in a real price-cost squeeze. For example, a tractor which cost \$2,100 in 1947 when wheat was about \$2.20 a bushel sold for \$3,100 in 1958 after wheat had dropped to around \$1.80. The Department of Agriculture found that spring wheat and livestock farms on the Northern Plains had an average capitalization of \$48,000 in 1957. Net income averaged \$4,053 which, after making a reasonable charge for capital investment, left the operator and his family only \$1,633, or 66 cents an hour for the labor of an entire family.

Many Great Plains farmers have improved their position by conserving their soil and returning millions of acres of marginal crop land to grass. The tragic dust storms of the 1930's and the droughts of the 1950's emphasized the need for major adjustments in land use. The Agricultural Conservation Service has encouraged farmers to conserve run-off water by building terraces and small dams. Farmers have adopted better tillage techniques such as strip farming and stubble mulching to minimize wind erosion. With the aid of government conservation programs, they have planted protective cover and increased tree plantings on the pattern of the shelterbelts started during the New Deal. A special Great Plains Conservation program was started in 1957 which permits the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into 10 year contracts to assist farmers and ranchers to make orderly changes in their cropping systems and to institute soil and water conservation programs. With government help and encouragement, farmers of the Great Plains have gone a long way to protect their soil, the region's most valuable resource.

But Great Plains farmers must organize their operations so they can cope successfully with the periodic dry years. This means that they must build up reserves to tide them over the inevitable bad times. Livestock farmers



must maintain substantial reserves of feed. Wheat producers must conserve as much moisture as possible through careful conservation practices, including summer fallowing. Farmers and ranchers must build more and larger dams and reservoirs to hold great quantities of water. They also need liquid assets to carry them over difficult years. Altogether, this requires skillful farm management and careful utilization of resources. All groups on the Great Plains should work to establish a prosperous agriculture because when farmers are poor the entire region suffers.

Agriculture has adjusted fairly well to the climate and geography of the Plains during the last 30 years. However, the great distances and sparse population of the region demand some new institutional arrangements which have been slow to develop. Changes in local government, educational organization and other institutions are needed. For example, in many areas the county unit of government with its several administrative offices is uneconomic. Scores of Plains counties have less than 5,000 people, and common sense dictates that county governments should be merged where the population is meager and where high mobility prevails. In other words, it is easier and quicker today for the modern plainsman to drive 50 miles to his county seat town than it was for his grandfather to go eight or ten miles.

One-room rural grade schools and small high schools have been disappearing rapidly, but too many of them still remain. Modern automobiles and buses permit transporting children many miles to larger schools where better teachers and equipment can be provided. Many Great Plains farmers move their families to town during the school year. Moreover, an increasing number of farmers reside in town and drive to their farms. In Texas County, Oklahoma, for example, 249 of the 1,275 farmers did not live on the farm they operated in 1955. Moreover, considering the rather stationary population, most of the Great Plains States are attempting to support an excessive number of colleges. Oklahoma maintains 18 institutions of higher learning, including two state universities, although the state's population was only about

2,300,000 in 1960, a figure below that of 1930. Some reorganization of higher education in most of the Great Plains states would save taxpayers money and provide just as good or perhaps better education.

The Great Plains region is confronted with numerous other problems. The entire section is an economic hinterland which pays economic tribute to the business and financial centers of the United States. Credit comes from outside the area for both government and private investment, and interest payments flow to distant investors. The great distance from centers of business and industry places an inordinate burden upon farmers who ship their products outside the region and who import manufactured goods from far-away factories. In economic matters, the Great Plains is truly a colonial area.

Perhaps the region's greatest problem is that of holding its youth. Today the most valuable export from the Great Plains is its young people, a development caused by lack of economic opportunity at home. Agriculture has become so highly capitalized that about the only way a young man can begin farming is to inherit a farm or obtain one through marriage. Industrial and cultural opportunities are lacking for many of the educated and productive citizens of the region. Consequently, the young native trained in business administration at the University of Oklahoma or in engineering at the University of Nebraska often leaves his community and state to accept opportunity elsewhere. The hard-pressed economies of the Plains States lose thousands of their young people just when they can make their greatest contribution.

The picture of the Great Plains today is neither black nor white. The region has many problems, but it is in a sounder economic position in the mid-twentieth century than ever before. Highly efficient agriculture, a sprinkling of government payrolls, some beginning in light manufacturing, and great conservation and power projects like those on the Missouri River in the Dakotas and Montana, all combine to give the region greater stability and a reasonably hopeful future.



*"Texas people like to talk of the 'new industrial trinity' of crude oil, natural gas and sulfur, all three of them found in abundance along the Gulf coast, and to assert that these three raw materials can underlie industrialization. . . ." This author notes that "The growth of the chemical industry on the Gulf coast . . . is nothing less than astonishing," but points out that in this region "the after-effects of adding chemistry to gas, whether they are good or ill, have hardly had time to show themselves in their true light."*

# Out Where the Southwest Begins: A Prospectus

By JAMES HOWARD

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**T**EXAS has been traditionally considered a part of the South. The state is, to be sure, linked with the South in its raising of cotton, rice and sugar cane, all of them Southern staple crops of long standing. Texas has a Southern cast, too, from its having a sizable number of Negroes in the population. Further, a good share of the people who have moved into the state have come from the "Old South."<sup>1</sup> By background it has been an agrarian state, rather than a heavily commercial or industrial section.

And yet Texas contrasts with the states to the southeast in the relative importance of its ranching interests, which include sheep and goat raising as well as cattle raising. It likewise contrasts with the South proper in the larger number of European-born immigrants who have settled in the state. More conspicuously, the large segment of persons of

Mexican descent in its population sets Texas off from the Southeast. In the absence of a United States Census count of them, the number of Latin Americans in the state is estimated at well over one million, out of a total of 9.6 million people. Most of the Latin Americans are presently located in the southern half of Texas, although they have been spreading northward in the past generation. In the main, they are recent immigrants to the United States. The greater part of them have migrated from Mexico during the last 50 years, after restrictions began to check United States immigration from Europe.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the migration from Mexico northward continues at the rate of some 25,000 persons a year; that many have been officially admitted by the federal Immigration Service each year, on average, since 1951.

The absorption of these 1.1 million or more Latin Americans into the population of the Southwest is a formidable business. Thousands of them, of course, are not yet accustomed to the English language. They generally have come from the rural villages of Mexico, where low educational attainments prevailed. Often they have settled in—or moved to—urban centers such as San Antonio or El Paso, thus making the more difficult their accommodation to life in a new country.

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<sup>1</sup> *Texas Almanac, 1958-59* (Dallas, 1957), p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> See U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1960* (Washington, 1960), p. 94.



While the size of the Negro population in Texas has tended to reach a stable level, evidence indicates that Latin Americans in the state are gaining materially in numbers. These Latin Americans have not in recent years been subject to the same disabilities imposed on Negroes in the South, though it is altogether true that the newest arrivals often find employment at first as manual laborers. The search of the Latin American immigrants for recognition is conducted on a somewhat different plane from that of Southern Negroes. Their status as immigrants can fall away from them, or from their children. The color line does not afflict them, by and large. Their situation is less muddled by racialism.

To move to the core distinction: Texas has come to differ from the states of the South in its greater reliance on the production of minerals—notably oil and natural gas—for its economic prosperity. Not simply its economic well-being, but its social and cultural advancement alike depend on its mineral resources. Indeed, Texas is the leading mineral-producing state in the Union; it has been a major source of mineral wealth for 40 years. The value of its mineral products currently exceeds \$4 billion per year, an amount six times the value of its 1959 cotton crop.<sup>3</sup> By far the greater part—more than nine-tenths, actually—of the state's annual income from minerals is accounted for by petroleum and related products. Only Louisiana, among the states of the South proper, is comparably endowed with petroleum resources. Louisiana is the only state in the Southern region that has as much as a billion barrels of estimated proved reserves of crude oil, and it is quite amply supplied with known reserves of natural gas.<sup>4</sup>

### Natural Gas

This eminence of oil and natural gas in the Texas economy has been maintained in spite of rigorous limits on the rate of oil production imposed in recent months by the state conservation authority. For example, during 1958 oil was allowed to flow from Texas wells only 122 days of the year, or about one day out of every three.<sup>5</sup> Despite this limitation, the state still produced over 900 million barrels of oil in that year.

The signal development in the petroleum

industry during the 1950's was the rapid coming of age of natural gas as an energy source. Natural gas was once regarded as a near-worthless byproduct of drilling for oil, when it was not looked on as a troublesome nuisance encountered in the search for oil. So recently a stepchild of the petroleum industry, natural gas is now on a par with coal as a fuel in the United States: natural gas currently provides about one-fourth of the country's energy requirements. The virtues of natural gas, like those of cottonseed, were slow in being recognized. An appreciation of the worth of natural gas has come with a rush, for this fuel has cut into the market for coal and manufactured gas and has made inroads on the use of fuel oil for heating.

The sharply higher price which natural gas brings today, compared to its market value a dozen years ago, reflects its enhanced economic standing. Even with federal regulation of the price of gas moving in interstate commerce, the average price of natural gas (per thousand cubic feet, at the well) more than doubled between 1950 and 1959, without endangering its competitive position as a low-cost energy source.<sup>6</sup> Natural gas is presently selling at the well at triple the price it commanded in 1946, on the average. All the same, one computation has it that a person can buy for 60 cents at the well enough gas to produce the same amount of energy that a barrel of crude oil will yield. The barrel of oil itself would cost around \$3.<sup>7</sup>

Nowadays the annual production of natural gas in Texas is measured in trillions of cubic feet and is valued at over a half-billion dollars.<sup>8</sup> Texan wells furnish at present over 45 per cent of the nation's marketed natural gas. Slightly more than half of the Texan marketed production is shipped by long-distance pipeline to other states of the Union, the remainder being consumed within the state.<sup>9</sup> The growing stature of natural gas in the Texas economy can also be seen from its swift rise as a source of income to the citizens of the state. The total dollar value of marketed natural gas produced in Texas in 1959, a sum of \$555 million, was more than

<sup>3</sup> *Texas Almanac, 1961-62* (Dallas, 1961), pp. 137, 138, 228.

<sup>4</sup> U. S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Facts and Problems* (Washington, 1960 edition), p. 611.

<sup>5</sup> "Texas Oil and Gas" (Dallas, Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, 1959 edition), p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Texas Almanac, 1961-62*, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> "Texas Oil and Gas" (1959 edition), p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> *Texas Almanac, 1961-62*, p. 148.

<sup>9</sup> "Texas Oil and Gas" (1959 edition), p. 23.



three and a half times what it had been in 1950.<sup>10</sup> Although gas is of widespread occurrence throughout the state, the principal gas fields are found in the Texas Panhandle and along the Gulf coast.

Texas holds first place among the states in the production of natural gas; ranking second as a gas producer is Louisiana. These two states together have no less than 67 per cent of the nation's estimated proved reserves of natural gas.<sup>11</sup> For the past decade, the reserves of Texas natural gas have been staying well above the level of 100 trillion cubic feet, even with heavy withdrawals. Texas and Louisiana taken together are furnishing some 69 per cent of the nation's current requirements. Both states, then, enjoy good prospects of being able to maintain their positions of dominance as suppliers of natural gas for the next 10 or 12 years at least.

Most of the natural gas, like most of the crude oil, is used for heat and for power. As a cheap and abundant fuel, natural gas has been a potent force in attracting industry to the Southwest and more particularly to the Gulf coast. To take two examples of the extent of this movement: one Texas chemical plant consumes twice as much gas as the entire state of Connecticut; another burns as much as the city of Philadelphia.<sup>12</sup> When electricity rather than gas is used in Texas manufacturing, the chances are that the electric power itself is produced in generating stations employing natural gas as fuel. Gas is also conveniently at hand and inexpensive for air-conditioning installations in commercial and industrial buildings.

Far and away the most impressive and most promising use of natural gas—as valuable as it has been to have a low-cost, versatile fuel—has been as a raw material for the new petro-chemical industry. Synthetic rubber and synthetic fibers are probably the most spectacular of the products derived from natural gas, crude oil and kindred petroleum substances. But they are only two of dozens—no, hundreds—of such products. The word “polyethylene” will suggest another whole realm of this make-come-true chemistry. Indeed, almost any plausible word ending in *-ene* or *-ane* that a lively imagination can concoct has a better-than-even chance of being the name of a chemical that can be cracked, synthesized, or otherwise aggluti-

nated from natural gas. Just stir in a few consonants with a handful of vowels, and out come *styrene*, *butadiene*, *benzene*, and the rest.

The growth of the chemical industry on the Gulf coast, especially between Houston and Beaumont-Port Arthur, is nothing less than astonishing. The big names among chemicals are here: Dow, Humble Oil and Refining, Shell, Celanese, Monsanto, Jefferson Chemical. Annual production of petrochemicals can be expressed in millions of pounds, if not in millions of tons. Yet all of this flourishing industrialism should not have been cause for astonishment. There it was, all spread out before a person, so that all who flew above the Houston ship channel could see. For those who did not fly but read and ran, there was the February, 1958, issue of *Fortune* with a sheaf of photographs, “The Houston Complex.”

Still, the development started innocently enough: the new steel towers, the round tanks, the network of pipes in these outdoor factories—they had every appearance of being merely a modest extension of existing oil refineries, so as to process two or three more byproducts. Appearances, as usual, were deceptive, and Texas is now the nation's largest producer of petrochemicals. The chemical industry has pulled into first place among Texas industries: it turns out a billion dollars' worth of products a year.<sup>13</sup> The cost of the natural gas processed is trifling. Instead, the heavy expenditure is for capital outlay. One company on the Gulf coast spent \$45 million on plant expansion, then announced that it would spend \$45 million more on additional plant.<sup>14</sup>

Texas people like to talk of “the new industrial trinity” of crude oil, natural gas and sulfur, all three of them found in abundance along the Gulf coast, and to assert that these three raw materials can underlie industrialization, replacing the coal, iron ore and limestone once thought to be central to sound industrial development. Whether or not this new sort of manufacturing deserves

<sup>10</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1961–62, p. 148.

<sup>11</sup> U. S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Facts and Problems* (Washington, 1960 edition), p. 611.

<sup>12</sup> “Texas Oil and Gas” (1959 edition), p. 31; *ibid.* (1957 edition), p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1961–62, pp. 267, 272.

<sup>14</sup> “The Houston Complex,” *Fortune*, vol. 57 (Feb., 1958), p. 127.



comparison with conventional forms of industrial activity, its coming has been accompanied by little dislocation when compared to those incident to the introduction of the coal-steam-railroad economy. The purposes of Southwestern fishermen and others bent on recreation may be in unresolved conflict with the designs of chemical engineers and other industrial planners, especially along the Gulf coast itself. Outside of that, the after-effects of adding chemistry to gas, whether they are good or ill, have hardly had time to show themselves in their true light.

#### Middle Eastern plus Southwestern Oil

The Southwest's crude oil, along with its gas resources, is being cultivated more intensively. Meanwhile, during the 1950's an event of heavy import to the oil industry of the United States took place when the Middle East moved ahead of its rivals to become the largest producer of oil in the world. At the same time, the Middle East came to occupy the front rank in the amount of its proved reserves of oil and gas. It displaced the United States here, though not because of any failure of the oilmen of this country to find new sources of supply. In addition, it grew to be a matter of serious concern that producers in the Middle East could deliver oil to American ports at a price lower than the prevailing market price of domestic crude. The net result has been that these producers have captured a considerable share of the United States market.

Thus the United States found its position changed after 1948 from being an exporter of oil and its products to being a net importer of oil.<sup>15</sup> By 1958, the volume of oil imports by the United States was five times that of its exports. The following year the Eisenhower administration placed mandatory controls on future importations. It should be observed that the conflict was not a conflict of national interests but of intra-national ones, since American oil companies operate in the Middle East.

Once the source of about 65 per cent of the world's annual crude oil requirements, the United States had quickly to become accustomed to supplying only some 36 per cent. The decline in the overseas market for United States oil, whether crude or refined, has occurred with startling suddenness: it is the

work of the last 15 years.<sup>16</sup> The international demand for the products of United States refineries is drying up and bids fair to stay dry, the more so if further oil discoveries are made in the Sahara region of Africa, which is well located to supply European needs. Barring a breakthrough in drilling technique by the United States, which would enable this country substantially to cut its cost of production, the American oil industry may have to content itself with meeting domestic requirements. It might be thought that the United States could hold its own, and handily, in selling refinery products on the world market. But by 1959 this country was importing about three times as many barrels of refined products as it was exporting—with federal restrictions on oil imports in effect.<sup>17</sup> Notwithstanding the decline in the demand for American oil abroad, the size of imports from the Middle East (and from Venezuela) is the actual sore spot.

Texas oil operators argue that the international economics of oil affects them with peculiar stringency. The state happens to have a rather effective governmental program of limiting oil production to meet anticipated national market demand. Other states, the argument runs, have less comprehensive regulatory agencies or else make less determined efforts to match production with demand. Hence, whenever any softness occurs in petroleum demand nationally, producers in Texas are called upon to absorb an undue share of reductions in the rate of oil flow. Severely lower levels of production have been occasioned in the past few years, in part, by the high volume of Middle Eastern imports. So far there has been no massed, organized assault on the principle of state regulation of oil production. It is to the credit of Texas oilmen that they have shown such self-restraint, a quality they have not ordinarily been acknowledged to be in possession of.

#### Switches and Double-Switches in Agriculture

The depression of the 1930's, World War II, and the industrialization of the state as represented by its coastal oil refineries and

<sup>15</sup> U. S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Facts and Problems* (1960 edition), p. 616.

<sup>16</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1960*, p. 730.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*



petrochemical plants—these have done what the Civil War and the decade that followed failed to do. They have managed to sweep away the Southern plantation system in Texas. Conceivably it is too early to say that the cotton plantation is dead, dead beyond revival; yet the relics are small and few. While tenancy still exists on farms, the sharecropper type of plantation is disappearing. A count made in 1954 could find fewer than 10,000 sharecroppers in the state, not one-fourth the number turned up in 1940.<sup>18</sup>

A noteworthy trend in Texas agriculture is the shifting away from crop growing to livestock raising that is occurring widely across the state. Accompanying this change is a west-to-east movement of the livestock industry within the state.<sup>19</sup> The cattle population of Texas is concentrated along the Gulf coast and not, as might be surmised, in West Texas. Indeed, one of the anomalies of the 1950's has been that Harris County, in which Houston is located, regularly contained more beef cattle than any other county of the state. Hence the cattle industry centers in the same area, the Gulf coastal plain, that contains the heaviest concentration of population and of industry. A partial explanation of the retreat from farming in favor of cattle raising lies in the erosion of soil that has been repeatedly cultivated (and miscultivated) until it has become unfit for the further production of commercial crops. Another reason may be that a smaller labor force is required to raise cattle than to cultivate crops like cotton.

This return to cattle raising is likely to continue. Few tracts of arable land in the state remain to be brought under cultivation, while it will be profitable to convert wearing-out cropland to pasture-land as long as the price of beef remains high. Farmlands suitable for such conversion to pasture are not presently in short supply. The demand for cotton has been lessened by the appearance of synthetic fibers such as nylon, orlon and dacron, and the market for United States cotton has been narrowed by competition from growers in Egypt, Brazil and India. By a curiously ironic twist, the materials for dacron, orlon and other acrylic fibers are now being made in quantity at chemical plants or refineries located on Texas land once given over to cotton plantations, especially land in the Houston area. These syn-

thetics are being produced, by another twist of irony, from oil and natural gas taken from beneath the soil that often has been used to grow cotton.

The plantation gives evidence of being obsolescent in Texas; the cotton plant itself is far from being neglected. Cotton raising has by no means been abandoned. On the contrary, the state still harvests three to four million bales of cotton a year. Cotton, in fact, retains its place as the chief crop grown in Texas, judged by monetary value. But the old cotton districts of the state have slowly given up their adherence to the crop. Instead, cotton is being raised on the South Plains of West Texas and in the lower Rio Grande valley. Cotton growing, in other words, has moved westward and southward. A measure of this geographic reorientation of cotton culture is that about half of the Texas crop is now being produced on irrigated lands. The former cattle country of the Panhandle (or High Plains) is being planted to cotton, when it is not devoted to wheat; while the former cotton belt, the Blackland Prairie, is beginning to be used for cattle raising, among other purposes. Mechanization of cotton farming has proceeded rapidly since 1940 or so.

The production of grain sorghums has been more fully mechanized than the growing of cotton. Grain sorghums have squeezed into second place among Texas crops, ahead of wheat, whether measured by acreage planted or its money value. Nearly every agricultural district of the state raises grain sorghums, giving the crop a wide geographic spread. Farmers have turned to the cultivation of grain sorghums partly because of the discovery of processes for using the grain in place of corn in producing starch, sugar, syrup and the like.

Another trend in Texas agriculture, observable since 1930 or thereabout, is the increased size of farms and ranches. The average acreage per farm in the state had reached 629 acres in 1960, a gain of 91 per cent over the average farm size of 1940. The appearance of small truck farms around cities has not been enough to arrest this trend toward enlargement of landholdings. Along with this consolidation of farms into larger units

<sup>18</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1961-62, p. 224.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.



has come a corresponding decline in the farm population of the state. No more than 11 per cent of the people of Texas now live on farms. This nation-wide and decades-old habit of moving from the farm to the city has been strongly marked in the Southwest.

A person is struck, in reviewing these economic changes—in agriculture, in mineral production, in industry—at the comparative

ease and quietness with which they have come about during the past 15 to 20 years. A profound sociological inquiry, a *Middletown*, might reveal now-hidden or as-yet-obscure ill effects to society. For the present, the evidence all but compels the conclusion that the human cost, the cost in disappointment, defeat, or privation, while not negligible, has been light.

(Continued from p. 273)

eth century than is generally realized. In the Democratic administrations of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman Southern leadership in the Cabinet and Congress made significant contributions to the development of important national policies. In the present administration two native Southerners sit in the Cabinet, Southerners preside over the House and Senate, over eleven of twenty committees in the House, and ten of sixteen in the Senate. Their contribution, of course, cannot be safely predicted now except to say that it will not consist of the monolithic conservatism that some expect.

If the Democratic party continues to dominate the Southern political scene, the "Solid South" has been broken in four consecutive presidential elections, and within the party there have been continuing struggles between conservative and progressive groups that resemble if they do not duplicate the political battles in two-party states. Southern leaders have been serious candidates for the

Democratic presidential nomination in the last three national campaigns, and have been able to attract support outside the region. Southern politics is not all cut to the same pattern; in its diversity it increasingly resembles that of other regions.

The signs and portents that the South is moving into the mainstream of American life are apparent on every hand. "The happy truth," says one writer [John T. Westbrook of Louisiana], "is that the South has lost its 'regional integrity.'" Others have been afflicted with nostalgia, like Harry Ashmore tenderly and regretfully preparing his *Epitaph for Dixie*. It may be that the obsequies are premature, that a South moving into the mainstream need not reject out of hand and indiscriminately its history and traditions for some unified national culture pattern. But change is undeniable, and few would dispute the observation of historian C. Vann Woodward that "recent changes are of sufficient depth and impact as to define the end of an era of Southern history."

## ERRATUM

The Editors regret two errors that appeared in the March, 1961, issue, *Southern Asia in Ferment*. In "India Faces a New Decade" (page 149, line 13, left hand column), the sentence should read: "In 1959, a new non-communal conservative party, known as the Swatantra (Freedom) party, appeared and it has created a considerable stir in Indian politics." In "A U.S. Program for Southern Asia" (page 134, line 36, right hand column) by Frank N. Trager, the sentence should read: "In the postwar years we have assisted such specific countries as Greece, Turkey, China and Korea; beginning in 1948 we created the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA); in 1950 the Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA); in 1951 the Mutual Security Administration (MSA); in 1953 the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA); and now, since 1955, the International Cooperation Administration (ICA)."



*Noting that "Southern California can be taken in many ways as a kind of laboratory of American culture," this author believes that "Southern California is more than just a study in American pathology. If a new pattern of human society is emerging, it may be showing its lineaments here."*

# The Pacific Coast: A Study of Southern California

By C. PAGE SMITH

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THE METROPOLIS of Southern California, its capitol and its heart, is greater Los Angeles, an area more or less coterminous with Los Angeles County, some 4,000 square miles in extent, containing a population of more than six million. While metropolitan Los Angeles is of course in many ways unique, it can also be taken as a kind of extravagant and often garish symbol of the burgeoning Southwest.

Unhappily the region seems to invite aphorisms rather than serious investigation. From Fred Allen's famous crack that Southern California is a great place to live if you're an orange, to its description by another wit as "Sunkist Chaos," it is pictured in our general culture as a kind of sunny Babylon whose only serious blemishes are smog and freeway congestion.

Economists in the area study national income flow, anthropologists study African tribal rites (one disastrous study by a visiting anthropologist applied primitive taboo systems to a survey of the film industry), sociol-

ogists study small industrial communities of the Northeast, or rural communities of the Mid-West, and political scientists examine comparative European governments, while few local social scientists take notice of the extraordinary megalopolis right under their noses. It is left for television comedians and popular magazines to be the principal commentators on life and manners in Southern California.

This is unfortunate because Southern California can be taken in many ways as a kind of laboratory of American culture. Speaking very generally, whatever is most characteristic of our society, both the hopeful and depressing, may be observed here *in extremis*. From the prospectus for the new dormitories on the Westwood campus of the University of California—referred to locally as the "Westwood Hilton"—which proclaims "the college living of tomorrow, today" to the miles on miles of tract developments—Paradise Homes, Blue Lace Manor, Royal Oaks Estate, Brighton Hills ("Hillside Luxury, Executive Living"), Southwood Riviera Royale, Hacienda Estates, La Mirada ("Influential Homes"), Parkwood where "one penny moves you in" and, as the ultimate note of elegance, "the walled city of Rossmoor," everywhere Southern California sets, or professes to set, the pace. (One wonders at the stability of an economy where \$95 down moves a "vet" into a \$25,000 home, but skepticism is treason in this land of infinite possibility.)

If narcotic addiction is a national problem, it is *more* of a problem in Southern Cali-

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ifornia; if homosexuality is of growing concern nationwide (an estimated four per cent); it is more serious in Los Angeles County (an estimated ten per cent); if Americans are buying sports cars and power boats, building swimming pools, indulging in "outdoor living," modern art, wall-to-wall carpeting, do-it-yourself gadgets, self-improvement and psychoanalysis, you may be confident that Southern Californians are doing more of all these things than anybody else. The cult of "creativity," the ruthless, implacable pursuit of culture and of "leisure activity" are nowhere more apparent.

Teenagers are a national problem, but a more pressing and ubiquitous one in Los Angeles County (there are almost a million of them in the greater metropolitan area and some 2.3 million young people under the age of 20); and, of course, the same for the aged, our "senior citizens"—a phrase so vulgar and insulting that only a society which was secretly ashamed of its profound indifference to old age could have conceived it. There are more than 800,000 Southern Californians over 60; they make up better than ten per cent of the population and many live pathetic, marginal lives in this playland of the Pacific.

But Southern California is more than just a study in American pathology. If a new pattern of human society is emerging, it may be showing its lineaments here. If the dream of a classless society, free of racial discrimination and poverty, is to be realized it may be realized here first. If a universal society of man is to be created, Southern California may some day make good its claim to be a pilot model.

### Immigrants to California

In order to understand this fantastic land it is necessary to say something about the people who have come to it, seeing it, in many cases, as the fulfillment of their dreams, a land of perpetual summer, where the desert needs only water to make it bloom like the Biblical garden.

The Spanish were, of course, first on the scene. Enterprising Yankees began intruding early in the nineteenth century. Many of them married into Spanish land-holding families and some of their descendants make up a portion of whatever Los Angeles "so-

ciety" there is today. The next wave of immigrants consisted of wealthy health seekers from the East who settled in considerable numbers in communities like Pasadena and San Marino, and Mid-Westerners from Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska and, a little later, the Dakotas. Most of the latter settled in their own homogenous, orthodox Protestant communities; they founded Glendale (Methodists); Pomona (Congregationalists); Pacific Palisades (Presbyterians); Whittier (Quakers) and so on, until they formed a ring around the city itself, a ring of solidly conservative, overwhelming Anglo-Saxon, mid-Western small towns surrounding Babylon. They founded their denominational colleges—Occidental, Southern California, Whittier, Redlands and Pomona and watched uneasily as the sybaritic metropolis of Los Angeles spread, with alarming rapidity, right to their doorsteps.

In addition, in recent years, they have been increasingly encompassed, one might almost say encysted, by tract communities inhabited by newer immigrants, rootless, upwardly mobile, without, in many instances, clearly fixed values, highly susceptible to pressures, to fads, to the attraction of the superficial ideal of middle class material prosperity—the appliance-oriented, as they might be termed.

This group has made up the largest recent immigration. The bulk of them came during World War II when half a million workers swarmed into Los Angeles from the industrial cities of the East and Middle West to man the defense plants and especially the aircraft factories which sprang up like mushrooms. These new arrivals found high wages, good working conditions, an absence of the crowded slum districts of the East, mild, sunny weather, an abundance of recreational activities, and none of the class barriers that were so conspicuous in the older cities from which they had come. If it wasn't the millenium, it was a reasonable facsimile. The word was passed to friends and relatives who helped to swell the tide of immigration in the years immediately following the war to 200,000 a year, or an average of 2 million in each of the last two decades. Many who came—the more ambitious and aggressive—moved vertically as well as horizontally, from working class to middle class, from lower



middle to upper middle class, in terms of standards of living and often of job status as well.

The great Negro migration which also began during the war swelled to almost half a million in the decade of the 1950's and Negroes in the area now number over 800,000. Most of the Negro immigrants have an urban rather than a rural background and a majority of them have experienced a spectacular improvement in their standard of living and in job opportunities, particularly in the fields of skilled labor and white collar jobs.

These migrations have been supplemented, over the years, by other important infusions. The Mexican population has been swelled by farm laborers imported from south of the border as agricultural workers—a low-paid, relatively passive labor force. In the early years of the twentieth century large numbers of Japanese arrived and in a remarkably short time became an essential element in the agricultural economy of the area, first as workers and then as independent farmers, many of them living on the periphery of the city and engaged in truck farming.

The Japanese, exclusive and profoundly alien to the native American culture, remained isolated and thus, as the events of World War II proved, extremely vulnerable. Their treatment by panicky officials who hustled them off to euphemistically named "relocation camps" after Pearl Harbor had the happy effect of drawing them, when the war was over, much more directly into the main currents of the larger community. There they have distinguished themselves by their intelligence and industry and have indeed profited from the bad consciences of their fellow Southern Californians, most of whom feel that the Japanese Americans were very shabbily treated in the near-hysteria following the outbreak of World War II.

The largest and most significant group that has settled in greater Los Angeles since the middle 1920's has been the Jews. They have arrived in great numbers, primarily from New York and other large Eastern cities. They have come, as far as it is possible to conjecture, because of opportunities in the entertainment industry and in the business and professional worlds, and because of the relatively low level of racial prejudice in Southern California. It is perhaps no exag-

geration to say that they dominate the life of the city. Articulate, intellectual as well as intelligent, aggressive and generally prosperous, they have made great contributions to the Los Angeles community. In almost every activity they exercise leadership, but they are especially conspicuous as patrons of the arts. Their children are very much in evidence on the campus of the University of California, and the children dominate the academic community as their parents do the larger community to the undoubted benefit of both sectors. So strong, moreover, is the stigma attached to any form of racial prejudice that even the not-inconsiderable number of Christians who feel themselves threatened by the growth and energy of the Jewish population confine themselves to *sotto voce* grumblings and caustic but cautious references to "our Semitic brothers."

#### A Vulnerable Economy

The economy of the region, with its dependence on the aircraft, missile and electronics industries (between them they employ 39 per cent of all factory workers in the L.A. area), on the construction trades, and on a very high level of services, is extremely vulnerable to recession and depression. The construction trades, of course, depend upon the rate of immigration into the area which creates a demand for new homes and subsidiary structures—schools, shopping centers, and so forth. On the other hand, one of the few economists who has studied the long-range economic prospects of Southern California concludes, pessimistically, that L.A. County no longer gets back in tax dollars what it must put out in services for the new arrivals—sewerage, flood control, highways, water, police protection, education and welfare agencies. He argues that the County has reached the point of diminishing returns.

In the decade ahead each new arrival will cost it \$13,000 for such services, or an average of \$1,300 for every resident. Simply to provide jobs for the anticipated influx will require a capital outlay by private enterprise of over \$10 billion over the next ten years. Such expenditures by the County may require a tripling of the present high tax rate, a thought which makes the beleaguered home-owner turn pale. Indeed, the latter, as he has watched property taxes (or evalu-



ations) creep up year by year, has already come to suspect that the fulfillment of the great American dream of owning a ranch style home of his own may be more of a trap than a triumph.

The vast number of service operations which, if we include wholesale and retail trade, involve almost half the labor force, constitute an added element of economic instability. There are, for instance, businesses which do nothing but clean filling stations, others that chlorinate swimming pools, and services that fix leaky facets and faulty light fixtures for so much a year on a subscription basis. Most middle class suburbanites have a year-round gardener who comes several times a week to keep the lawns as neatly clipped as putting greens and the various tropical flora properly pruned and watered. The result of all this is an extraordinarily high level of maintenance. Keeping up appearances has become institutionalized. Houses look more like model homes or movie sets than dwellings occupied by real people.

In Southern California the symbiotic relationship between scientific research and industry which is an increasingly familiar aspect of the American industrial scene has been carried further than anywhere else. A large number of young engineers and scientists have responded to the siren call of high salaries and "California living" to make up the newest population infusion, a relatively small but extremely significant group who are bound to play an important part in the future development of the area.

Two of the best known ventures in the general field of applied research are the Rand Corporation (Research and Development) and its daughter, Systems Development Corporation. Rand came into being shortly after the war as a private agency set up to do contract research for the government, primarily the Air Force. Located in Santa Monica, it has expanded its range of interests in every direction although remaining most actively concerned with problems of national defense planning. The several thousand employees (most of them in their thirties or forties), precursors of the new age of scientific technology, range in specialization from mathematics and physics to philosophy and sociology. Recruited in many instances from the academic world, they join with the engi-

neers and scientists from Douglas, Hughes, and Lockheed to make up the largest subcommunity of its kind in the world.

Southern Californians, optimistic by nature, assume that the most pressing problems of the area—water, smog and transportation—are all solvable. The water problem is apparently already on its way to being solved by the voters' approval of the California Water Plan which will bring surplus water from the northern part of the state. There is hope for solution to the smog problem in the development of various devices designed to control the emission of carbohydrates from automobile exhausts, thought by most experts to be the principal culprit in the creation of smog.

The transportation problem is clearly more difficult. Although the vast system of freeways is pushed along rapidly and at enormous expense no one seems to believe that the freeways alone will solve the problem of traffic congestion which has to be experienced to be believed. Freeways finished ten years ago are so crowded (some of them continuously) that many desperate motorists have returned to the old city streets that the freeways were designed to replace. It is increasingly evident that the freeways have increased rather than ameliorated congestion, and there has been much talk lately of the need for an elevated monorail. Certainly there is no question that some such rapid transit system is badly needed. The cost, however, would be staggering and with the freeway network far from complete it is hard to see where funds can be found for such an ambitious scheme.

Another pressing problem is urban renewal, with over-all city planning. To grasp this problem it is necessary to understand that the heart of the city of Los Angeles is compressed into half a dozen badly crowded downtown blocks, a portion of which constitute a blighted area. Most city planners incline to the view that a metropolitan area such as Los Angeles needs a lively and vital center to act as the focal point of social, cultural and financial life for the satellite communities that surround it and that are not able in themselves to support major cultural activities—symphonies, plays, concerts, art museums, not to mention essential business agencies. These apostles of a sophisticated



and urbane city life have made discouragingly little progress against the general disinterest and apathy of the mass of citizens who seem content to revel in the pleasures of suburban living.

Much talk is heard of urban renewal, but to date this has amounted to little more than clearing away run-down, lower-middle class areas and building vast, monolithic apartment houses, depressing in their pretentious modernity, and very expensive. This is certainly not the kind of urban renewal that the more imaginative planners have in mind.

Again, one of the principal obstacles to effective city planning is the transportation problem. To be a vital part of megalopolis, the heart of the city must be accessible to suburbanites. At present it takes often three-quarters of an hour of driving through congested streets to get from most of the satellite communities to the center of the city. The writer lived in suburban Santa Monica for three years before he ventured downtown. The consequence of such inaccessibility has been the development of suburban shopping areas, but this only accelerates the withering away of the central city.

#### Educational Problems

The preoccupation of Southern California with education is at one and the same time extraordinary and touching. Everyone is taking a course in something. Adults by the tens of thousands take great books courses, great art courses, courses in problems of modern living, in French cooking, in Russian language, in guitar playing and folk singing, in the world's great religions, in small boat handling, in ceramics (enormously popular), in short, in almost everything.

On the other hand, the education provided by the elementary and secondary schools varies, with a few exceptions, from mediocre to poor. Considering the lavish "plants" and the considerable expenditure of money, Southern California children are short-changed in their school years. The fads of progressive education have probably made greater inroads here than in any other part of the country. This is the Valhalla of "reading readiness," "core curriculums," "life adjustment," and all the other wonderful dogmas of the educators. The students, the best of whom must certainly be among the bright-

est youngsters in the world, do not, in consequence, get the thorough, rigorous training and discipline in the fundamental academic subjects that they deserve and that would best prepare them for college work. The educators, for their part, argue, with some justice, that their responsibility lies equally with the great majority of students who are not academically inclined and who will, at best, take a two-year terminal junior college degree in photography or physical education.

In the post-Sputnik era there has been here, as everywhere, a growing movement to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education, especially for the brighter students. One of the more hopeful aspects of the problem is that, as contrasted with the East, the great majority of upper middle class children attend public rather than private schools. Private schools are, generally, for the very rich or for problem children, or parochial schools (Protestant, Catholic and Jewish) for children whose parents believe in the value of a religiously-oriented education. The consequence is that school administrators are very susceptible to pressures from concerned parents, many of them college-educated themselves and deeply conscious of the value of a sound education.

In higher education, the state is again involved in the largest enterprise of its kind in all the 50 states of the union and the bulk of this activity is concentrated in Southern California—five of the University's eight campuses are in this area, nine of the fourteen state colleges, and more than half of the over sixty junior colleges. The University of California at Los Angeles, as the major advanced degree granting institution in the area, dominates the educational scene. The quality of its instructional staff is generally high and the quality of the work demanded from the students is hardly less so. Only about 12 per cent of the high school graduates meet the University's standards for admission and these 12 per cent may receive an education that compares very favorably with that of any major university in the country, state or private.

In addition, the University acts as a cultural and intellectual center for the entire West Side of greater Los Angeles, including the prosperous communities of Beverly Hills, Westwood, Brentwood, Bel Air, Santa



Monica and Pacific Palisades. It presents a succession of concerts, lectures, art exhibits, and seminars of a generally high quality which frequently draw turn-away crowds from surrounding communities. A series of lectures on "Modern Philosophies" by a popular professor attracted 1500 subscribers and turned away hundreds more for lack of space. A concert by Jascha Heifetz, a member of the music faculty, a lecture by Bill Brice, a brilliant young painter and a professor in the art department, a panel on science and the humanities with C. P. Snow and Aldous Huxley, a series of lectures on the "Pathology of the Popular Arts" are just a sampling of recent fare designed less for the academic community—students and professors—than for "outsiders."

This development may well foreshadow a new role for the American university as the intellectual and cultural center of the urban or suburban communities adjacent to it. Indeed, the increasing activity of the university in these areas suggests that the solution of the problem of a reconstituted "core" city could rest with the University and its sister institutions of higher learning which may in time replace the city as centers of creative and intellectual stimulus.

One of the most intriguing ideas these days is the brainchild of L. M. K. Boelter, the able and imaginative Dean of the School of Engineering on the Los Angeles campus. Boelter, interested in fighting the slow throttling of downtown Los Angeles and an eloquent spokesman for intelligent, long-range planning, professes to discern the outlines of a Pacific Basin Culture with Southern California as its capitol. The traditional American axis, he points out, has been East-West. The Atlantic Community has dominated American thought and American society for 300 years. The Eastern United States which has mediated this culture to the interior of the country has thereby maintained its hegemony. In the East-West axis, the West Coast is simply the end of the line. But with the growth of Alaska and Canada to the north, the rapid development of the Ameri-

can Northwest, the increasing importance of Mexico and Latin America, Hawaiian statehood, the independence of the Philippines, the post-war resurgence of Japan and the vast stirring of Red China, the Pacific Basin is growing every year in importance and Southern California is destined, according to Boelter, to be the terminus of this vast portion of the globe.

The idea is obviously attractive to Californians whose state for too long has been simply a remote and bizarre appendage to the East, an East whose image of Southern California is made up of Hollywood stereotypes, palm trees, date shakes, Disneyland and a hundred such wonderful excrescences. The truth of Southern California is perhaps closer to the Republican Methodist housewife of Glendale, let us say, who aspires to the classic comforts of middle class America, worries about demoralizing influences on her teen-age daughter, wants her son to be a professional man instead of an insurance salesman like her husband and who, although she would not want to see a Negro family move into her own peaceful and complacent neighborhood, is deeply concerned about New Orleans and the Congo. Or the highly-paid and almost continuously employed carpenter who has a comfortable tract home, a new Oldsmobile, a power boat and a Metrecal-slim wife whose large clothes bills are a comforting assurance that he is a substantial member of the new working class élite.

How long Southern California will allow the East to condescend to it cannot be predicted. How long will the region be hidden behind the extravagant illusions of press agency, which like the sets on the Twentieth-Century Fox movie lots along Olympic Boulevard, conceal vast stretches of average American humanity trying, often desperately hard, to live the good life? It is safe to say it will not be hidden indefinitely, and the sooner Southern California undertakes the painful task of trying to understand itself, the sooner it will be understood.



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wish to cross that line. In 1953, John F. Kennedy told his fellow Senators that his efforts on behalf of his constituents were not based upon an "intention to penalize the South . . . or to give to New England or the North any unfair advantages in the normal competition between the states."<sup>18</sup>

The relatively long distance between New England and both raw materials and markets has already been noted as something which makes the region's businessmen especially sensitive to transportation costs. On the other hand the relatively short distances involved in intra-regional freight hauls has kept the average distance for New England freight shipments well below the national average. Rates per mile, as a result, have tended to be somewhat higher. For three-quarters of a century the federal government has been attempting to balance the legitimate interest of the railroads in earning reasonable profits with the interest of shippers and the public in low rates. Yet New England spokesmen have felt that I.C.C. policies in recent years have discriminated in favor of other regions. Seymour Harris feels that New England has exaggerated rate variations as a factor in the cost of production.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, the critical study of rate-determining procedures and the effort to correct inequities by bringing pressure to bear upon Congress and the I.C.C. is one of the major efforts of New England to improve her competitive position.

Undoubtedly more important than railroad rate differentials are the varying standards among the states in prevailing wages and in tax levies to support state and local programs. Substandard states may look attractive to some employers, but it has been the argument of New Englanders that an improvement in living standards and in tax-supported public services should not be regarded as a weakening of a state's competitive position, but as an improvement in the state which all of its citizens will enjoy. Urging higher federal minimum wage legislation and other laws which might reduce the differential between New England and the South, Senator Kennedy in 1953 emphasized the "tremendous benefits" which would accrue to the South itself.<sup>20</sup>

Such effort represents a shift in the New

England attitude toward the role of the federal government in attacking sectional problems. Not only minimum wage laws, but subsidies and aids to regional development are involved. The proposed Passamaquoddy Bay tidal power project, which has been under consideration for years, could not be developed through the use of the funds of a single state. New England's traditional interest in fisheries combined with an increasing water pollution problem has also created an interest in federal assistance. Feeling that the region has not always received an adequate return on its federal tax payments, New England congressmen and governors have drawn together to exert more effective pressure in the New England interest. The activities of young leaders since the war, New Englanders like Bowles in Connecticut, Kennedy in Massachusetts, and Muskie in Maine, mean that it is no longer necessary to dismiss the political philosophy of New England by a witty reference to the Vermont "museum piece," Calvin Coolidge. The increasing respect for New England leadership in national politics was indicated in the recent presidential election, when for the first time in American history a New Englander appeared, as presidential or vice presidential nominee, on the ticket of each of the two major parties.

Does the recent progress of New England represent a fulfillment of Edward Filene's 1933 appeal for economic leadership "fit" to survive? Such a conclusion would at best oversimplify a complex problem. The New England of 1961 is not the New England of 1850 or 1900. Different problems call for a different response. Because of the rise of many competing areas, it is clear that New England cannot recapture its old unique position. But the region has shown since World War II that it can enjoy modest growth toward a more stable position than it has held recently. The flexibility and adaptability that New Englanders are now demonstrating in their effort to make a creative response to a challenging environment may indeed bring about "the survival of the fit"—the survival of New England.

<sup>18</sup> John F. Kennedy, "The Economic Problems of New England: A Program for Congressional Action," *Congressional Record*, May 18, 20, and 25, 1953, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>20</sup> Kennedy, "The Economic Problems of New England," p. 4.



# Current Documents

## PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MESSAGE ON ECONOMIC RECOVERY

On February 2, 1961, U.S. President John F. Kennedy presented a special message to the Congress on economic growth and stability.<sup>1</sup> Excerpts of the text follow:

### I. OUR GOALS AND PROBLEMS

America has the human and material resources to meet the demands of national security and the obligations of world leadership while at the same time advancing well-being at home. But our nation has been falling further and further short of its economic capabilities.

In the past seven years, our rate of growth has slowed down disturbingly. In the past three and one-half years, the gap between what we can produce and what we do produce has threatened to become chronic.

\* \* \*

The potential of the American economy is constantly expanding. The labor force is rising by 1.5 per cent per year. Output per man rises annually by 2 per cent as a result of new and better plant and equipment, modern technology and improved human skills. These increases in manpower and productivity provide the base for a potential annual growth of 3.5 per cent in the nation's total output. This is not high enough. Our potential growth rate can and should be increased. To do so, we propose to expand the nation's investments in physical and human resources, and in science and technology.

But in recent years the economy has not realized even its present possible growth. From the peak of the business cycle in the second quarter of 1953 to the top of the anaemic recovery seven years later, gross national product grew only at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent. The failure to use our full capacity is the urgent economic problem of the day.

In 1960, the American economy produced \$503 billion of output when it was capable of producing at least \$535 billion. In the

fourth quarter of 1960, actual output could have been 8 per cent higher than it was. More than a million and a half unemployed—over one-third of all unemployed—could have had jobs.

Twenty billion dollars more personal income could have been earned in 1960. Corporate profits could have been \$5 billion higher. All this could have been accomplished with readily available manpower, materials and machines—without straining productive capacity and without igniting inflation.

The performance of the economy in 1960 was not only well below its full capacity; it also fell short of the modest levels expected by the Administration.

Adjusting all figures to the same statistical basis, the budget projections last January were based on the 1960 national output of \$513 billion. In October, output for the year was still expected to exceed \$508 billion, implying a rate of at least \$521 billion in the fourth quarter. The actual figure turned out to be \$503 billion both for the year as a whole and for the last quarter.

Even when the recession ends and economic activity begins to expand again, the problem of unused potential will remain. Even if we were to achieve the \$515 billion output projected for 1961 in connection with last month's budget message, the gap between potential and actual output would continue to grow and unemployment would hover between 6 and 7 per cent of the labor force throughout the year. Under these circumstances, the expectation of minor improvements in business conditions during the next year provides no basis for complacency, no excuse for inaction. And—speaking out of

<sup>1</sup> For the record to date on Congressional action on Kennedy's proposals, see *The Month in Review*, "U.S. Economy and Government."



realism, not pessimism—we cannot rule out the possibility of further deterioration if we fail to act.

An unbalanced economy does not produce a balanced budget. The Treasury's pocket-book suffers when the economy performs poorly. Lower incomes earned by households and corporations are reflected in lower federal tax receipts. Assistance to unemployed workers and the cost of other measures for alleviation of economic distress are certain to rise as business declines. That is why recession—as our \$12,400,000,000 deficit in the fiscal year 1959 recently reminded us—forces the budget into imbalance. That is why the prospect of surplus in the federal budgets for fiscal 1961 and fiscal 1962 is fading away.

The federal budget can and should be made an instrument of prosperity and stability, not a deterrent to recovery. This Administration is pledged to a federal revenue system that balances the budget over the years of the economic cycle—yielding surpluses for debt retirement in times of high employment that more than offset the deficits which accompany—and indeed help overcome—low levels of economic activity in poor years.

If this economy were operating at full potential, the existing federal revenue system would yield more than \$90 billion in fiscal year 1962, instead of the \$82,300,000,000 now estimated, producing a large budget surplus, and permitting retirement of national debt as well as the further development of federal programs to meet urgent national needs. Debt retirement at high employment contributes to economic growth by releasing savings for productive investment by private enterprise and state and local governments.

The programs I am now proposing will not by themselves unbalance the budget which was earlier submitted, but are designed to fulfill our responsibility to alleviate distress and speed recovery—both through benefits directly available to needy persons and through desirable fiscal effects on the economy. They will sustain consumer spending and increase aggregate demand now when the economy is slack. Many of these expenditures will automatically cease when high employment and production are restored.

Other measures contained in this message

propose necessary uses of national economic capacity and tax revenue for our long-range growth, and are essential even in the absence of a recession. They are proposed because the country needs them, can afford them and would indeed be poorer without them.

Recession in agriculture has been chronic since the early Fifties. Falling farm income has been a drag on the industrial economy, while economic slack has restricted the job openings which might have eased the adjustment process in agriculture. The marginal or displaced farmer is most painfully aware of the interdependence of agriculture and industry.

Restoration of the economy as a whole to satisfactory and rising levels of performance is an important prerequisite to restoring farm prices and income to their rightful levels.

The American farmer should receive for his managerial skills, his labor, and his capital investment returns that are similar to those received for comparable human talents and resources in other types of enterprise. To this end the Administration will recommend further specific measures in a separate message on agriculture to be submitted to the Congress at an early date.

## II. MEASURES FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY

### 1. Monetary Policy and Debt Management

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### 2. Housing and Community Development

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A reduction of mortgage interest rates is already overdue. Despite the easing of the general money market in the past year, the cost of mortgage credit still hangs just below its post-war peak. I have been assured that officers of many leading lending institutions share my view that present mortgage yields are unrealistic, and are prepared to cooperate in an effort to make mortgage money available at lower rates.

Consistent with this appraisal of the present situation, I have directed the Federal Housing Administration to reduce the maximum permissible interest rate on F. H. A.-insured loans from 5.75 to 5.50 per cent. The resources of the Federal National Mortgage Association in the secondary mortgage market will help to give effect to this change in the



rate. The F. N. M. A. stock subscription requirement applicable to sales of mortgages in the F. N. M. A. secondary market will be temporarily cut in half. I shall request the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to cooperate in advancing this effort to reach a more realistic level of mortgage lending rates.

What is good policy here for the private housing sector is also good policy for public construction activity. Under the program by which loans are made to local public bodies for the construction of public facilities, the Community Facilities Administration at my direction is reducing interest rates on new loans. This program will also be broadened to make eligible for loans many communities and certain types of public facility projects which are now excluded.

I have instructed the Housing and Home Finance Agency to hasten the initiation or completion of those approved projects in which a speed-up can be effected without waste. In examining new applications for assistance, H. H. F. A. will give priority of attention to projects which are fully planned and ready for construction, and to projects located in areas of chronic unemployment. Under the college housing program, available funds will be committed more rapidly than hitherto planned, and efforts will be made to move forward the starting date for previously approved projects.

The federal government will do everything in its ability at all administrative levels to quicken the pace of urban renewal work. Given this assurance, mayors and other local officials can by energetic leadership accelerate projects under way or about to begin. I have today telegraphed the mayors of 297 cities to urge that they review their urban renewal projects to find ways of hastening the completion of these vital civic improvements.

### 3. Temporary Unemployment Insurance Extension

The number of persons out of work and seeking employment has been rising since the early summer of 1960 and has reached serious proportions in these rigorous winter months. In January 5,400,000 persons were unemployed, more than 1,300,000 has been continuously out of work for fifteen weeks or longer, 600,000 for six months or more. In addition, workers involuntarily confined

to part-time work numbered 1,700,000, a rise of 200,000 over December.

We have long since decided as a nation that we will not turn our backs upon workers and their families undergoing the hardships of unemployment. Furthermore, we know all too well that the loss of income of the unemployed inevitably depresses consumer spending, threatening to deepen the recession and delay recovery. The flow of wage and salary payments, measured at an annual rate, has fallen by \$4 billion from August to December.

Our unemployment insurance system serves to mitigate, in some degree, the hardships of displaced employes and helps to strengthen the economy against the forces of contraction. The total number of persons drawing benefits under that system has risen sharply since the middle of 1960, and in mid-January stood at 3,400,000, 1,000,000 higher than a year ago.

Although average benefits amount to only \$34 per week, total payments are estimated to have been \$430 million in January, compared to \$264 million in January a year ago. The number of persons exhausting unemployment benefits has also increased. About 500,000 persons who have exhausted their benefits are still unemployed. During the first six months of 1961, nearly 1,500,000 more persons will use up their unemployment benefits before finding jobs.

In these urgent circumstances I shall ask the Congress to enact a temporary program for extending the duration of benefits. Under agreements voluntarily entered into between the states and the federal government, additional weeks of benefits would be authorized from federal funds, during the twelve months following enactment, to persons who have exhausted regular benefits since October 31, 1960, and are still unemployed.

These extended benefits would equal one-half—up to a maximum of thirteen weeks—of the duration provided by the state. The duration of the benefits would be subject to an over-all maximum, state and federal, of thirty-nine weeks. Where the state law already provides benefits for longer than twenty-six weeks, the federal government would pay, for the period of the emergency for all weeks of benefits beyond twenty-six up



to a maximum of thirty-nine, thus freeing state funds for much-needed increases in benefit amounts.

The amount thus going into increased income and purchasing power will be advanced from general revenues and later repaid in full from increased insurance contributions obtained by raising the taxable payroll maximum per employee from \$3,000 to \$4,800 annually. This increase will maintain the self-supporting basis of the system and enhance its capacity to meet future emergencies.

Our permanent federal-state unemployment insurance system, which has become an institution essential to the efficient functioning of our labor markets as well as a strong defense against economic contraction, is in need of permanent reform. As I said in 1958, I believe it would be a tragic mistake to embark on a federal supplementation program geared to the present emergency without also strengthening the underlying system.

A mere stop-gap approach ignores the role our permanent unemployment insurance system was intended to play, and establishes instead a precedent for falling back on temporary remedies whenever the system is really needed. The standards of the system have proven inadequate to deal with the recession problem.

This time, we must establish a permanent unemployment compensation system which can do the job it was intended to do. A program of federal legislation designed to revise and strengthen the benefit and financing provisions of the system will therefore be recommended to the Congress by the end of March.

#### 4. Expansion of U.S. Employment Service

I am directing the Secretary of Labor to take necessary steps to provide better service for unemployment insurance claimants and other job applicants registered with the United States Employment Service. This will require expanded counseling and placement services for workers or job-seekers (a) in depressed areas; (b) in rural areas of chronic under-employment; (c) displaced by automation and technological change in factories and on farms; (d) in upper age brackets; and (e) recent graduates from college and high school.

#### 5. Aid to Dependent Children of the Unemployed

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I recommend that the Congress enact an interim amendment to the Aid to Dependent Children program to include the children of the needy unemployed. Temporary action is recommended pending completion of a study of a permanent program to aid needy children and certain other groups now excluded from the federal-state public assistance programs.

#### 6. Distressed Area Redevelopment Program

The Congress is considering the legislation designed to reinforce the efforts of areas of heavy chronic unemployment to improve their economic climate. Although state and local governments, as well as private agencies, have been helpful in many instances, the distressed areas constitute a national problem that is properly the concern of the federal government.

The subject has been studied by standing and special committees of the Congress, by individual states, by groups of states, and by private study groups. There is general agreement that we should enact legislation providing the means for loans for private projects, technical assistance, loans and grants for public facilities, and programs for training and retraining workers. I urge that any area development program be flexible enough to benefit urban and rural areas alike and to apply to regions of economic distress which include parts of two or more states.

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#### 7. Distribution of Surplus Food

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#### 8. Improvements in the Old-Age Survivors, and Disability Insurance Program

\* \* \*

I recommend that Congress enact five improvements in benefits, to become effective April 1. All are clearly justified in equity and decency. They will increase benefit payments for between four and five million people in the next twelve months. Besides meeting pressing social needs the additional flow of purchasing power will be a desirable economic stimulus at the present time. Early enactment will serve this end.

The Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability In-



surance Program is financed on a sound actuarial basis, with insurance contributions adjusted to scheduled benefit payments. The benefit improvements I am proposing can be covered by additions of one-fourth of 1 per cent each to the employer's and employee's contributions, beginning at the next scheduled increase in contributions on January 1, 1963.

The five proposals are:

(1) Raise the minimum monthly benefit for the retired worker from \$33 per month to \$43 per month, increasing benefits for more than 2,200,000 people in the first twelve months. We wish it could be raised higher—but surely we cannot continue benefits at such an unconscionably low minimum.

(2) Improve retirement protection by paying actuarially reduced benefits to men beginning at age 62. Present law does not permit a man to become eligible for optional retirement benefits before age 65, although such benefits are available to women at age 62 on an actuarially reduced basis.

Provision for paying reduced benefits to men beginning at age 62 would make benefits available to older unemployed workers at comparatively little additional program cost. The plight of the older unemployed man is particularly serious in areas of chronic unemployment. However, the difficulties older workers find in re-entering the labor market after losing their jobs or after periods of illness exist in all parts of the country.

Frequently, as persons approach age 65 they find it difficult to compete in their accustomed occupations because of physical incapacity which may not however have progressed to the point of total disability. Provision for actuarially reduced benefits at age 62 to men as well as women will provide income for 600,000 people, some of whom would otherwise have to turn to public assistance for support.

(3) Provide benefits for 170,000 additional people by liberalizing the insured-status requirement. At present a person can receive benefits only if before retirement he was employed in jobs covered by the Social Security Program for one out of every three quarters after 1950. The proposal is to reduce the required coverage to one quarter out of every four. This is only fair to our present generation of older people, as it brings their

eligibility requirement into line with the one that present law contemplates for future generations, i.e., ten years of coverage out of a working life of about forty years.

(4) Increase the aged widow's benefit from 75 per cent to 85 per cent of her husband's benefit amount, raising benefits for 1,550,000 widows. There is no justification either in equity or in the facts of family consumption for this size gap in the level of widows' benefits.

(5) Broaden disability insurance protection. The Social Security program should provide disability insurance benefits for insured workers and their families after the worker has been totally disabled for six months. Under present law, disability benefits are available only if the disabled worker's condition is expected to result in death or to last for a long and indefinite period.

The proposed change provides benefits in the first twelve months for 85,000 people (totally disabled workers and their dependents) many of whom otherwise have to resort to public assistance. Since it would no longer be necessary to determine that the disabled person is unlikely to recover, the change removes an important barrier to rehabilitation. It also speeds up determinations of disability. While the change has these desirable effects, it would in no sense be an innovation. Similar provisions are contained in many private insurance contracts and other disability programs.

#### 9. Early Payment of Veterans Life Insurance Dividends

\* \* \*

#### 10. Minimum Wage Increase and Expanded Coverage

I urge the Congress to raise the minimum wage immediately to \$1.15 and to \$1.25 within two years. This will improve the incomes, level of living, morale and efficiency of many of our lowest-paid workers, and provide incentives for their more productive utilization.

This can actually increase productivity and hold down unit costs, with no adverse effects on our competition in world markets and our balance of payments. More than four-fifths of those commodities affected by either export or import trends are produced by industries which would not be significantly



affected by a moderate increase in the minimum wage.

The proposed new coverage is basically in retail trade and services, which are not affected by shifts in international trade. Moreover, experience with previous minimum wage increases indicates little effect on prices. In the four years following the 1956 increase in the minimum wage, the index of all wholesale prices increased 6.6 per cent, whereas the prices charged for commodities produced in low-wage industries showed negligible change.

Coverage should be extended to several million workers not now covered. This will extend the wage standard throughout significant low-wage sectors of the labor market. It will require the payment of a minimum starting at \$1 for the workers newly included, and a gradual increase to the general \$1.25 minimum.

\* \* \*

#### 11. Accelerating Procurement and Construction

(A) I have directed the heads of the departments and agencies to carry out an immediate review of their procurement and construction plans through the end of the current fiscal year with a view to expediting such procurement and construction wherever possible, giving priority to actions which will have an early effect on unemployment. The steps they are taking will be reported to me by March 1.

(B) I have directed the Cabinet and agency heads to submit by February 17 inventories of (1) going public works projects which can be speeded up quickly, but for which additional appropriations might be needed; (2) needed natural resources conservation and development, light construction, maintenance, repair, and other work which likewise can be speeded up or started quickly, and (3) any additional construction or other projects which could be initiated at an early date.

I have instructed the directors of the Bureau of the Budget, in consultation with the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, to work with the agencies in carrying out these directives. They will assemble and appraise the project inventories with a view to determining which projects may be

suitable for early initiation or acceleration as part of the recovery program.

Excellent possibilities include programs to improve the roads, recreational facilities, and forests in the Project Work Inventories of the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and the Bureau of Land Management. A particularly high priority will be assigned to projects located in areas of labor surplus.

(C) I have today instructed the Secretary of Commerce to make available to the states immediately the entire balance of federal-aid highway funds scheduled for this fiscal year. This acceleration of the availability of \$724 million is a first step in speeding up the highway program and getting more projects under construction and more men at work this year.

The Secretary will urge the states to place under contract as soon as possible all those projects which are currently in the final stages of planning.

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#### 12. Government Procurement in Labor Surplus Areas

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### III. PROMOTION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PRICE STABILITY

I have emphasized that the solution to our economic problem requires a program that goes well beyond anti-recession measures, important as these are to the relief of distress and the reversal of economic decline. Equally important are measures for the longer pull to restore our economy to its full potential and to accelerate economic growth. Fortunately, the measures to overcome recession, to take up the slack and to speed growth all reinforce each other.

Today, most industries have the facilities to produce well above current levels. They lack only customers. As a nation, we lose not only \$30 to \$40 billion of production per year. We also lose the vital incentives which capacity operation gives for expansion and modernization of plant and equipment. The measures I have proposed to reduce unemployment and stimulate markets will help to restore these incentives for economic growth.

#### 1. Special Tax Incentives to Investment

Expansion and modernization of the nation's productive plant is essential to acceler-



ate economic growth and to improve the international competitive position of American industry. Embodying modern research and technology in new facilities will advance productivity, reduce costs, and market new products. Moreover, an early stimulus to business investment will promote recovery and increase employment.

Among the reforms of the federal tax system which I expect to propose at a later date is a modification of the income tax laws to provide additional incentives for investment in plant and equipment. To avoid a net revenue loss, I will also recommend measures to remove several unwarranted special tax benefits, and to improve tax compliance and administration. It should be possible to reform the tax system to stimulate economic growth, without reducing revenues and without violating the basic principles of fairness in taxation.

## 2. Investment in Human Resources

Another fundamental ingredient of a program to accelerate long-run economic growth is vigorous improvement in the quality of the nation's human resources. Modern machines and advanced technology are not enough, unless they are used by a labor force that is educated, skilled and in good health. This is one important reason why, in the legislative programs that I will submit in the days to come, I will emphasize so strongly programs to raise the productivity of our growing population, by strengthening education, health, research and training activities.

## 3. Investment in Natural Resources

The economic growth of the United States has been favored by an abundant supply of natural resources of almost every sort. But resource needs and supplies are not static. As our needs mount, as past reserves are depleted and as technological requirements change, we must constantly develop new supplies if growth is not to be inhibited.

Exhaustion of low-cost domestic mineral deposits is a growing problem which calls for advanced and new national long-range minerals policy.

Our water resources programs, including flood control, irrigation, navigation, watershed development, water pollution control—and, above all, water desalinization—require

priority attention. In addition, we need to develop sound and uniform standards for sharing costs between federal, state and local governments.

Improvement of our forest resources will require expanded government credit sources for the development of woodland properties, more research on forest management, additional funds for cooperative forest programs, acceleration of the national forest program and improvement of grazing resources.

Also essential to economic growth are long-range energy resource development and accelerated programs for economical production of energy from nuclear sources, including nuclear fusion. We must begin now also to plan for regional cooperative pooling of electrical power. Both efficiency and growth goals will be served if we interconnect our hydroelectric and thermal power resource plants.

## 4. Productivity and Price Stability

Rapid technological change is resulting in serious employment dislocations, which deny us the full stimulus to growth which advancing technology makes possible. Labor and industry have demonstrated cooperative initiative in working out solutions in specific plants and industries. Government action is also necessary, not only to maintain an environment favorable to economic growth, but also to deal with special problems in communities and industries suffering from economic dislocations and to help those who through unemployment are bearing an unfair share of the burden . . . of change.

\* \* \*

Inflation has no single cause. There have been times in the post-war period when prices rose sharply in response to a rate of total spending in excess of our capacity to produce. The government will not contribute to this process, and we shall use the powerful tools of fiscal and monetary policy to arrest any such movement if it should threaten. . . .

Some price increases, particularly among the consumer services, have been caused by the failure of productive resources to move promptly in response to basic shifts in the pattern of demand. We shall seek means to encourage the movement of manpower and capital into sectors of expanding demand.

\* \* \*



## Received At Our Desk

### History and Politics . . .

**THE QUEST FOR EQUALITY.** By ROBERT J. HARRIS. (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1960. 172 pages, \$4.00.)

This deceptively brief book, written by one of the leading interpreters of the Supreme Court, is the most concise and most readable treatment of the quest for equality extant. Commencing with an historical analysis of the American tradition of equality, Professor Harris, a Southerner who is not proud of his region's record on that score, recounts and illuminates the birth of the Fourteenth Amendment, with particular emphasis on its "equal protection of the laws" clause. He demonstrates convincingly that the purpose of its framers, in conjunction with Section Five of the Amendment—the "enabling clause"—was to "provide protection against wrong and oppression by the states." Moreover, far from being designed as a mere negative check on state discrimination, this was intended to serve as a positive weapon to ascertain equality and provide protection by dint of congressional action in the face of state default. What had happened, alas, is that after an initial spurt of activity with the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 and one or two other statutes, Congress met partial defeat at the hands of the Supreme Court in a series of interpretations, and simply "gave up."

The Court, in turn, either gave the "equal protection" clause an adverse or at best a very narrow construction, and, while employing it as "a shield for economic and other interests," contracted it markedly between 1873 and 1935. It "rediscovered" it in a fuller sense after that date and ultimately employed it to effect,

in Professor Harris' words, "the judicial burial of Jim Crow."

In connection with the latter achievement, the Vanderbilt University scholar gives a superb analysis and interpretation of the famous *Segregation Cases* of 1954 (*Brown v. Board of Education*; *Bolling v. Sharpe*; et al.). Calling these a "great decision" but not a great "opinion," the author wisely points out that all the Supreme Court really had to do was to hold that "the 'separate but equal' formula, when applied by a state or its officers, was not in accordance with precedents before and after 1896," the date of the adoption of the formula in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and that it was accordingly reversed. In any event, he agrees that, no matter what the opinion, the Court did no more than its clear duty "in the great tradition of constitutional growth by judicial interpretation."

HENRY J. ABRAHAM  
University of Pennsylvania

**A SURVEY OF INDIAN HISTORY.** By K. M. PANIKKAR. (New York and Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1960. Third edition. 272 pages, glossary, and index, \$4.25.)

The growing importance of India in world affairs has occasioned an increased need for interesting, informative, accurate books on India's past. This new edition of Dr. Panikkar's notable work, first published in 1947, is a welcome addition to the literature in the field. A prolific and profound writer on various aspects of India's history and culture, Panikkar is an example of the rare combination of scholar, diplomat and politician. He served his country at the United Nations, as ambassador to China, and is currently active as a member of the Indian Parliament.



The narrative takes the reader from the early Vedic period—the beginning of recorded Indian history—to the early part of the twentieth century. In brief, but informative, chapters, he traverses a complex and fascinating area of world history. What he has done, to a great extent, is “to portray the life of the people against a continuous political background, and to deal with dynastic history and with the wars and conquests of different kings” and to place these strands within an integrated picture of the developing political background. He has “also tried to work into the pattern the major strands of South India’s evolution for it is obvious that any attempt to interpret the history of India in terms of the evolution of the Indo-Gangetic Valley is bound to be partial and unbalanced. It is the Aryo-Dravidian synthesis which begins at the end of the Rig Vedic age, with the Battle of the Ten Kings, that creates Indian civilization.” There are well balanced accounts of the Maurya and Gupta Empires, the coming of the Moghuls, the effect of sea power upon India’s history, the coming of the West, and the subsequent domination by the British. There is a valuable and comprehensive glossary and index that enhance the value of this study for the student seeking a compact introduction to the wonder that was India.

A.Z.R.

**KHRUSHCHEV: THE MAKING OF A DICTATOR.** BY GEORGE PALOCZI-HORVATH. (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1960. 314 pages, appendix and index, \$4.95.)

Secrecy is a fundamental characteristic of the Soviet system. It extends to virtually every aspect of Soviet life. We know very little, for example, about the private lives of the Soviet leaders. Any attempt at biography is a flirtation with the obvious and the superficial, for there are few materials on which the biographer can base his narrative other than carefully tailored official hand-outs. Nevertheless, the attempt to peer into the unknown is occasionally successful if the biographer brings a mastery of his field, an intuitive

understanding of the dangers involved, and an ability to explain the complex and the unknown in terms that are believable, sophisticated and revealing strong perceptive powers.

Mr. Palocz-Horvath, a Hungarian, and a member of the Communist party, brings to his challenging task the requisite tools of the trade. Tracing Khrushchev’s early years, he follows his rise to power in the Party through the turbulent days of the 1930’s and 1940’s. He notes carefully the methodical manner in which Khrushchev developed his mastery over the Party apparatus. In this respect, we are given some insights into the operation of the power aspect of the Soviet system which may be of use in assessing the relative significance of Khrushchev’s competitors. The portrait of Khrushchev reveals a mixture of the doctrinaire, determined, committed Communist and the pragmatic, shrewd, dynamic proletarian side of his nature.

The author relies on Soviet sources and on the preliminary works of a number of specialists. He has written a well-balanced, informative, useful account of the present leader of the Soviet Union. Through his narrative, the author has also shed light upon the changed nature of the post-Stalinist regime.

A.Z.R.

**THE SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION DEBATE, 1924–1928.** BY ALEXANDER ERLICH. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960. 214 pages, bibliography and index, \$6.00.)

It is rare that the outside world knows the reasons behind Kremlin behavior in important matters of policy. The policies advocated by the various factions of the top leadership, and the rationalizations offered to justify a particular policy approach are shrouded in secrecy. There was, however, one notable exception to this tradition of secrecy: the debates which preceded the adoption of the first Five Year Plan in 1928.

Alexander Erlich has written a penetrating, invaluable account of the views propounded by the principals to the indus-



trialization debate of the 1920's. To all the Soviet leaders "industrialization was both the synonym of economic progress and an indispensable basis for a fully socialist society in the future." "... What were the alternatives open to the Soviet economy at the end of the 1920's? To what degree were Soviet leaders aware of their nature and potentialities? Did the actual course of events follow a design laid down well in advance or was it to a significant extent an improvised response to circumstances?"

The answers are presented here with remarkable clarity, perceptiveness and skill. The author traces the ideas of Bukharin, who was "undoubtedly the best-educated economist not only of his group, but of the whole party as well," ideas which, though they have been "blackened, denigrated, and proclaimed dead time and time again (since the 1920's) are now playing their part" in the contemporary struggle for power in the Soviet Union. Bukharin favored closer cooperation with and consideration of the peasantry on the ground that "the motive force of individual interest would powerfully promote social ends." As agriculture expanded and recovered, he argued, it would "in turn" accelerate the advance of industry. As a result of this development through mutual interaction, one branch of the agricultural economy after the other would eventually outgrow the limits of individual peasant holdings and remodel itself along the lines of large-scale production and of collective ownership—basic objectives of Bolshevik doctrine. However, in the struggle for power following Lenin's death, the "Left" and the "Right" opposition favored a different approach and a different tempo of industrialization. These different positions are developed in this excellent study. Professor Erlich has made an important contribution to our knowledge of a crucial period of Soviet history.

A.Z.R.

We too often forget that the East-West struggle transcends the diplomatic, economic and military realms; it is a pervasive, all-inclusive quest for the minds and loyalties of the great bulk of the world's peoples who live in the "underdeveloped areas." The principal weapons are ideas and they are disseminated in a variety of ways through the spoken and written word. In recent years the Soviet leaders have undertaken a massive, well-financed, ambitious program designed "to project to all men an image of the Soviet way of life calculated to facilitate Soviet foreign policy objectives. It is accompanied by an equally massive effort to shield the Kremlin's subjects from harmful 'alien' influences."

Professor Barghoorn, long an astute and informed commentator on Soviet affairs, especially as they relate to mass media, propaganda, and cultural contacts, has written a sobering account of the contemporary challenge of the Soviet cultural offensive. His introductory chapters provide historical perspective on the role of cultural diplomacy in Soviet policy prior to 1953. Three chapters—"Change and Continuity in Post-Stalinist Policy," "Barriers and Controls," and "Patterns of Communication"—contribute a detailed picture of the character of current cultural communication with the Soviet Union, the difficulties involved, and the benefits to be derived. Throughout the book the author's vast experience is evident. Innumerable valuable insights into the nature of Soviet society are presented; in addition, there are fascinating vignettes which personalize an extremely difficult subject in an informative, interesting fashion.

The Soviet foreign communications effort is enormous. It involves scholarship, subversion, and specialized facets of cultural penetration. Indeed, "this program may exert greater influence abroad than Soviet research and development in atomic energy or artificial earth satellites, which, indeed, it helps to translate into propaganda."

Professor Barghoorn's study explores and analyzes areas of Soviet policy hitherto neglected. An enormous amount of

**THE SOVIET CULTURAL OFFENSIVE.** BY FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960. 353 pages and index, \$7.50.)



information has been brought together, skillfully organized, and effectively presented. This analysis provides a foundation upon which other, more detailed area studies may be attempted. A.Z.R.

**ADENAUER AND THE C.D.U.: THE RISE OF THE LEADER AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE PARTY.** By ARNOLD J. HEIDENHEIMER. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960. 259 pages and index, \$5.00.)

Here is a detailed account of the evolution of the Christian Democratic Union as a major party with Konrad Adenauer as a key, almost indispensable, personality in contemporary Germany. As such the book is highly recommended to the advanced student of European politics and institutions. The text, however, is not easy to read for the author has chosen to develop his subject in encyclopaedic detail expecting the reader to be well versed in German history and knowledgeable about the inner mechanism of the party struggles of the C.D.U. and the Social Democratic party. Based on extensive documentation and an excellent bibliography of primary source materials, the volume treats a new theme in an old setting: the establishment of a stable, democratic, and responsible party system in a resurgent and prosperous Germany, committed to European integration.

The chapter headings are indicative of the road along which Adenauer has led the C.D.U. and his country: "Perspectives on Origins and Context"; "The CDU's Emergence in Occupied Germany"; "Competing Zonal Leaders and Organization"; "Patriotic Priority: All German Faith or West-German Fact?"; "Economic Policy: Planned Economy or Free Market?"; "Coalition Policy, Federalism and the Basic Law"; "Adenauer as Chancellor and Party Leader"; "Conclusion: Adenauer's Party Leadership and the Reconstruction of Germany."

Dr. Heidenheimer examines the organizational framework of the post-war loose coalition that characterized the different groupings of the C.D.U. and their attitudes towards the formation of a central

government. The evolution of these haphazardly coalesced elements towards a disciplined "nationally" competitive party is analyzed in depth. Certain questions, in support of this theme, come to mind.

To what factors or circumstances may the almost unqualified political successes of the decentralized and ideologically disunified party be attributed? Why, almost a decade later, did Ludwig Erhard, Minister of Economics and spokesman of a conservative policy on matters pertaining towards the Common Market, free-trade areas, relinquish or vacate his position as successor designate to the Chancellor at the last elections? In both cases the answer is to be found in that unique, authoritarian and almost institutionalized figure that is Adenauer. In essence the author holds that "der Alte" has molded and cast the C.D.U. into its present Western image in a deliberate attempt to transcend the narrow confines of German nationalism and regionalism.

It might have been useful if some attention had been given to the ultimate goals and values of C.D.U. leadership at the various local and Länder levels in terms of behavioral standards and criteria. A normative approach could have added to the often colorless descriptions of party organization and policy formulation. Willy Brandt is completely overlooked in the text, while Schumacher, who died in 1950, is mentioned dozens of times. Surely this is an oversight. Altogether these are minor criticisms of methodology and emphasis and should not detract from a very useful and effectively presented study.

RENÉ PERITZ  
University of Pennsylvania

**A POLISH FACTORY.** By JIRI KOLAJA. (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1960. 153 pages and index, \$5.00.)

This apparently is the first case study by a Western-type industrial sociologist in a Communist-country industry. The author, a member of the sociology department of the University of Kentucky, is an American citizen who speaks Polish. He



spent several months in the fall of 1957 studying employee attitudes and reactions to the union, the Communist party, and the workers' council in an 8,000 employee textile plant in Lodz. While the workers' council was a relatively new plant organization, the union and the Party were long established but of little influence over workers' attitudes or motivations which were primarily directed to maximizing their own personal well-being within the environment set by a forceful state management and economic planning.

After its brief experience at the time the study was made, the new workers' council—theoretically presumed to constitute workers' sharing in plant management—appeared to be making no more impact upon the workers' individualism than had the union or the party. The author found in the plant "a superfluity of organizations that profess to cater to the workers' needs, and yet none of them does so." Concentration of power remained in the hands of the plant director who, in turn, was controlled by the higher echelons of economic management. The workers possessed no real basis for becoming informed upon or forming opinions about managerial problems.

The broad lesson of this study appears to be that, just as in the Western world, cooperation or decision-sharing between management and labor requires long and careful preparation and nurture of pilot experiments, rather than sudden imposition of drastically new full-blown institutional patterns of management-labor relationships upon a factory complex.

WILLIAM N. LOUCKS  
University of Pennsylvania

**THE ORIGINS OF INTERVENTIONISM: THE UNITED STATES AND THE RUSSO-FINNISH WAR.** By ROBERT SOBEL. (New York: Bookman Associates, 1960. 204 pages, bibliography and index, \$4.50.)

This study deals with the way in which the Russo-Finnish winter war of 1939–1940 influenced American attitudes toward foreign affairs; "more specifically, it deals with the impact of the War upon American isolationism." In a series of

compact chapters, the author traces the roots of isolationism in the United States, the dialogues between the "isolationists" and the "interventionists" during the 1930's, the outbreak of the Russo-Finnish war, and the changing attitude of many Americans toward foreign affairs which developed out of a strong sense of sympathy for the beleaguered Finns. He analyzes the dilemmas confronting the Roosevelt administrations, the handling of the war by the press, the public reaction, and the actions of Congress.

"The War was important to the United States in that it constituted an invaluable lesson in international relations and power politics. Since the 'Nye mentality' could not be utilized in regard to Finland, the isolationists were robbed of their most important weapon. The public was free to discuss the War, to advocate aid to Finland and to dislike the Soviets, without being reminded that the salesmen of death, the cunning British and French foreign offices, and the lobbyists, were behind the Finnish cause." Out of this period of soul-searching came the realization that the United States could not stand idly by while Nazi Germany ruled Europe. Though the Finns did not benefit from the heightened public awareness of foreign affairs, the British did, and when the time came in mid-1940 and Britain stood alone, the United States was ready to respond to the challenge.

A.Z.R.

**POLITICAL SCIENCE: A PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS.** By VERNON VAN DYKE. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960. 235 pages, \$5.00.)

Professor Vernon Van Dyke of the State University of Iowa has written a brilliant essay on the ends, methods, and values of the discipline of political science. At a time when the social sciences are becoming increasingly enchanted with mathematical and statistical methodological concepts to the virtual exclusion of more traditional methods and approaches, Professor Van Dyke has taken a hard look at the discipline. With lucidity and directness—characteristics unfortunately lacking in most contemporary thinking in the field—he

(Continued on p. 320)



# The Month in Review

## INTERNATIONAL

### Berlin Crisis

March 13—President Kennedy meets with West Berlin's Mayor Willy Brandt in Washington; Kennedy affirms that the U.S. will protect West Berlin's freedom.

### Disarmament

March 7—The United States suggests that disarmament debate in the U.N. General Assembly should be postponed; the U.S.S.R. asks for immediate debate.

March 14—U.S. Ambassador Arthur Dean leaves for the Geneva negotiations on a nuclear test ban.

March 21—Soviet delegate Semyon K. Tsarapkin speaks as the Geneva Conference on a nuclear test ban reopens after a 3½ month recess.

March 22—It is agreed by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. that disarmament talks should be reopened in Geneva in August.

March 29—The U.S.S.R. and the U.S. agree to suggest postponing disarmament debate to the fall session of the General Assembly.

In Geneva, the U.S. suggests that space satellites patrol a nuclear test ban; this patrol would be fully operational six years after the treaty becomes effective.

### Organization of American States

March 13—Ambassador Vicente Sanchez Gavito of Mexico tells a special session of the O.A.S. Council that Nicaragua and Honduras have agreed on a formula for the settlement of their border dispute.

### Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

March 22—Military commanders of the Seato nations discuss Communist penetration of Laos.

March 25—Eight foreign affairs ministers from the Seato states meet to discuss Laos.

March 29—Seato foreign ministers agree "to take whatever action may be appropriate" in the Laotian crisis. (See also *Laos*.)

## United Nations

March 2—Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld reports to the General Assembly; he asks for \$135 million and 25,000 troops for the U.N. Congo force in 1961.

March 3—India offers 3,000 men; Liberia and Tunisia offer a total of 1,100 for the Congo force. The Indian contingent may not be used in factional fighting.

March 6—The U.S.S.R. and the U.S. fail to agree on the postponement of "cold war" items on the General Assembly agenda.

March 7—The fifteenth session of the General Assembly reconvenes.

March 14—In a joint resolution proposed by Liberia, Ceylon and the U.A.R., the Security Council is asked to look into the situation in Angola. (See also *Portugal*.)

March 15—The proposal for an inquiry in Angola is defeated in the Security Council, with a vote of 5-0 with 6 abstentions. The U.S. votes with Asian and African states and the U.S.S.R. in favor of the defeated resolution.

March 22—The Assembly postpones debate on the Congo. (See also *Congo*.)

March 24—The U.S.S.R. questions the authority of the General Assembly to appropriate funds for a force in the Congo.

March 25—The Single Convention of Narcotic Drugs is adopted, replacing 9 multilateral agreements; when 40 governments ratify the convention it gains treaty status.

March 27—The U.N. reveals that only Australia, Ireland, The Netherlands and the U.S. have paid any part of their assessments for the U.N. Congo operation.

March 30—The U.S. promises a "sizable" sum in extra cash to help pay for the Congo operation and suggests a new scale of assessments to meet threats to peace and security, putting the main financial burden on the Security Council's 5 permanent members.

## West Europe

March 26—The European Common Market charges Italy with violating the Treaty of



Rome because of Italian restrictions on imports of live pigs and pork products from other Common Market nations.

## BELGIUM

March 27—Premier Gaston Eyskens resigns following yesterday's election losses for his Christian Social party. In the 212-member House of Representatives the Christian Social party wins 96 places, according to the final returns, 8 less than in the last House. Of the 106 elected Senators, the Christian Social candidates win 47 seats, a loss of 6. The Christian Social party wins 333 seats in provincial assemblies, a loss of 27. The Socialist party retains 84 House seats and takes 45 Senate seats, a gain of 5; and 265 provincial council seats, a gain of 12. The Liberal party wins 20 House seats and 11 Senate seats. The Communist party receives 5 House seats and 1 Senate seat. The Flemish Union takes 5 House seats and 2 Senate seats. The Christian Social party received 41.46 per cent of the votes cast, 5 per cent less than in the last election.

## Ruanda-Urundi

March 3—Premier Gregoire Kayibanda of the Ruanda trust territory arrives in Brussels for talks with government leaders. Last month Kayibanda declared a republic.

March 16—A U.N. inquiry commission report charges that Belgian administrators in Ruanda-Urundi have not cooperated with local leaders in the trust territory. The report does not condemn the Brussels government.

## BOLIVIA

March 2—It is reported that the opposition candidate in last year's presidential election, Walter Guevara Arze, after eluding police for 10 days, has taken refuge in the papal nunciature in Las Paz.

## BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

### Australia

March 18—Papua and New Guinea natives elect 6 members of a 37-member advisory

Legislative Council; 73 natives representing more than 300,000 tribesmen vote.

## Canada

March 14—In two days of discussion with United States officials, Canada explains that pending tariff laws will not reverse the liberal trend toward lowered barriers. March 22—The Dominion Bureau of Statistics reports that unemployment reached a record 719,000 in Canada in mid-February; the unemployed total is 11.3 per cent of the total labor force.

## Ceylon

March 10—It is revealed in Colombo that in the next 2 years Ceylon will purchase some 40,000 tons of petroleum products from the U.S.S.R. March 19—A Ceylonese diplomat says Ceylon will send 800-1,000 men to reinforce U.N. troops in the Congo.

## Cyprus

March 10—Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, reveals plans for a 5-year development program, relying on Western aid and technical assistance. March 13—The Republic of Cyprus is elected to the British Commonwealth.

## Ghana

March 15—President Kwame Nkrumah arrives in New York. (See also *Congo*, Mar. 7, *Laos*, and *U.S.*, *Foreign Policy*.)

## Great Britain (See also *Iceland* and *Laos*.)

March 4—Some thousand demonstrators parade in protest against the U.S. Polaris missile submarine base at Holy Loch.

March 8—The U.S. submarine Patrick Henry arrives at Holy Loch with 16 Polaris missiles.

March 17—The Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference ends with a communique calling for a disarmament agreement. (See also *Union of South Africa*.)

March 22—All 5 defendants on trial for espionage are convicted in London.

March 27—The Speaker of the House of Commons rejects a Labor party request



for debate on possible troop movements to Laos.

#### India (See also U.N.)

March 3—India offers to supply a 3,000-man brigade to the U.N. Congo force.

March 4—Parliament reveals that slavery in the Northeast Frontier Agency will be ended within 13 months.

March 9—The U.S. agrees to sell 300,000 bales of surplus cotton to India, mostly to be paid in rupees which will be made available for India's development in the form of grants and loans.

#### New Zealand

March 1—Prime Minister Keith J. Holyoake leaves on a tour around the world.

March 3—Holyoake confers with U.S. President Kennedy in Washington.

#### Pakistan

March 2—President Mohammad Ayub Khan signs a law providing that a Muslim must get permission from his first wife before marrying a second wife. Permission for divorce must be given by a town or city council.

March 4—Pakistan and the U.S.S.R. agree on Russian technical assistance and a Russian loan for oil prospecting.

March 11—Pakistan and the U.S. are reported to have signed 3 agreements, one for defense support and 2 concerned with supplying farm commodities to Pakistan.

#### Union of South Africa

March 9—In elections in South-West Africa, the National party wins 16 of the 18 Legislative Assembly seats in the territory.

March 13—At the U.N., the U.S. asks for a pledge from South Africa that it will comply with an International Court of Justice decision on the administration of South-West Africa.

March 15—Because other Commonwealth prime ministers are firmly opposed to racial apartheid policies, Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd withdraws South Africa's application for Commonwealth membership after it becomes a republic on May 31.

March 16—Verwoerd says South Africa will

remain within the sterling bloc area and hopes to retain "good relations and friendship" with Britain.

The U.N. General Assembly votes 74-0 to adopt a resolution mildly reprimanding South Africa for not recognizing U.N. authority in South-West Africa.

March 22—Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan says that South Africa's racial policy is "abhorrent to the ideals with which mankind is struggling in this century," in a report to Commons on South Africa's withdrawal of application for Commonwealth membership.

March 23—Verwoerd says Britain's African policy will force all white men from Africa.

March 26—More than a thousand African leaders attend a 2-day meeting in Natal, forming an organization to succeed the two banned political parties, the African National Congress and the Pan-African National Congress.

March 27—Ghana asks the U.N. to quarantine South Africa until "inhuman" racial policies are abandoned.

March 29—The 28 South Africans who have been standing trial for high treason since 1956 are acquitted.

#### BRITISH EMPIRE

##### British Honduras

March 3—Final results of the March 1 election are announced: the Left-Wing People's United party wins all 18 elective seats in the reorganized Assembly. Party leader George Price sees a "clear and undeniable mandate to govern the country for the next four years."

##### Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

March 2—The Federal Assembly votes 46-5 to support Prime Minister Roy Welensky in his opposition to British suggestions for a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia. The Government has rejected a draft constitution proposed by British Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod. Welensky warns he may resign if the British suggestions remain unaltered.

March 18—Roy Welensky and British Prime Minister Macmillan discuss the constitutional crisis in the Federation.

March 20—Welensky leaves London; a Brit-



ish statement notes that in considering the new constitution, "due regard will be paid to the considerations which the Federal Government have brought to the attention of the United Kingdom Government." Welensky indicates optimism.

#### Kenya

March 3—British Governor Sir Patrick Renison gives 4 African leaders permission to visit Jomo Kenyatta, in restrictive custody because of his role in managing the Mau Mau terrorism.

March 6—Renison confers with 12 African leaders to discuss the political crisis.

March 8—Kenyatta appeals to African leaders for political unity.

March 10—African leader Tom Mboya says that "in the initial stages" stability in Kenya will require one-party rule when the Africans take charge.

#### New Guinea

March 19—Results of yesterday's elections are announced: 6 natives are chosen by an electoral college to represent 500,000 people in the first native Parliament, including a village gardener, 4 presidents of regional government councils and a clerk of mixed racial background. The Australian government will appoint 5 others to represent 1,300,000 natives.

#### Tanganyika

March 25—British Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod arrives for the constitutional conference.

March 27—The constitutional conference opens in Dar Es Salaam.

March 29—Macleod announces that Tanganyika will receive independence December 28, 1961; the U.S. trust territory is to gain full internal self-government on May 1.

#### Uganda

March 26—Results of the first nation-wide elections for the legislature are revealed: The Democratic party (Roman Catholic-dominated) wins 43 of 81 seats; the Uganda People's Congress wins 35 seats; the Uganda National Congress wins 1 seat; independents win 2 seats.

#### BURMA

March 2—It is reported that the U.S. has told Nationalist China it opposes the presence of Chinese irregulars along the Burmese and Laotian frontiers. These irregulars fled from China in 1948-1949 at the time of the Communist takeover.

March 17—Nationalist Chinese President Chiang Kai-shek's government announces the opening of "Operation Hurricane" to remove Chinese irregulars from the Thailand, Laos, Burma border areas.

#### CHILE

March 5—Congressional elections are held.

March 9—It is reported unofficially that the government of President Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez won a small majority.

#### CHINA, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF (Communist)

March 8—U.S. President John F. Kennedy declares that hopes for improved relations with Communist China have been deflated. Sources report that at talks yesterday in Warsaw between Ambassador Jacob D. Beam and Peking delegate Wang Ping-nan, the Communist Chinese representative turned down an American bid to exchange newspaper correspondents.

#### CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE (Leopoldville)

March 2—U.N. headquarters in Leopoldville report that 44 Congolese civilians have been killed in the past 2 days by Congolese troops in Luluabourg, in Kasai Province.

March 4—Congolese soldiers and Sudanese troops under the U.N. command clash for several hours at Matadi, a port on the Congo River.

March 5—Fighting between Congolese and U.N. Sudanese troops continues at Matadi. U.N. and Congolese leaders agree not to send reinforcements to Matadi.

The Malagasy government, the host country for the meeting of Congolese leaders, reveals that Antoine Gizenga, representing the pro-Lumumba regime in Stanleyville, will attend the meeting in Tananarive.

March 6—Because of U.N. inefficiency in



handling the Sudanese troops sent to Matadi, the Sudan announces that it is withdrawing its 400-man contingent in the Congo. It is reported that the 135 Sudanese soldiers under the U.N. command surrendered to their 1,000 Congolese attackers.

It is announced that the U.N. is negotiating with Congolese authorities to put Matadi under U.N. control.

Congolese leaders meeting in Tananarive in the Malagasy Republic to discuss a new government for the Congo agree to postpone talks until tomorrow to allow for the arrival of Eastern Province's leftist leader Antoine Gizenga (formerly ex-Premier Patrice Lumumba's deputy). Among those present are Premier Joseph Ileo and President Joseph Kasavubu of the central government in Leopoldville, President Moise Tshombe of Katanga Province, and President Albert Kalonji of South Kasai (Mining State) Province.

March 7—Congolese leaders demand the removal of U.N. forces from all Congolese "strategic points," including Leopoldville airport.

At the U.N., Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah tells the U.N. to reorganize its activities in the Congo.

March 8—Gizenga refuses to attend the Tananarive meeting.

March 9—Congolese leaders in Tananarive rebuke Nkrumah for his interference in Congo affairs.

It is disclosed that U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold has turned down Congolese bids for joint control with the U.N. over airports, ports and other points.

March 12—It is announced that a new confederation to replace the present Congo government has been agreed on. Kasavubu is chosen president; he will be the first among equals. Leopoldville will be the confederation's capital. The conference at Tananarive disbands.

March 14—President Kasavubu in two cablegrams to U.N. Secretary General Hammarskjold demands that the U.N. halt the sending of reinforcements to the Congo (some 4,700 Indian troops are being sent to build up the U.N. Congo force); and that the International Court of Justice in The Hague decide the legality

of the U.N. resolution last February 21 authorizing the use of force in the Congo if necessary to prevent civil war.

March 18—Gizenga rejects the newly established confederation. He calls for a centralized government for the Congo and proposes that the Congolese parliament meet in a neutral country.

March 19—Hammarskjold extends the term of special representative to the Congo Rajeshwar Dayal.

March 20—Major General Joseph D. Mobutu warns U.N. forces in the Congo against attempting to reoccupy by force the ports of Matadi and Banana.

March 21—Premier Joseph Ileo, in a news conference, declares that the U.N. should recognize that the Congolese government can now solve its own problems.

The U.N. Conciliation Commission reports that the Congo is "on the verge of catastrophe."

March 22—A recent U.N. survey reporting economic collapse and bankruptcy in the Congo is made public.

March 25—Talks between the regime of Antoine Gizenga and the central government of Premier Joseph Ileo, scheduled to begin today in Stanleyville, are postponed.

March 26—The Congolese central government (Leopoldville) announces that it has accepted the U.N. plan to replace Belgian technicians in the Congo.

March 27—In the General Assembly, Uruguay calls for the removal of U.N. forces from the Congo.

March 28—Responsible sources disclose that France has refused to pay its share of U.N. costs in the Congo.

March 30—Ileo announces that the heads of the sovereign states of the new Congo confederation will meet in Katanga Province next week.

## CUBA

March 9—Major William A. Morgan, an American in Castro's forces, is on trial for his life; he is charged with treason.

March 11—Morgan is executed.

March 22—In New York, the Democratic Front and the Revolutionary Movement of the People, the 2 major Cuban opposition groups, announce that they have agreed on setting up a Revolutionary



Council with ex-Premier José Miro Cardona as President.

## FRANCE

March 4—U.S. Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman meets with French President Charles de Gaulle, and delivers a message from U.S. President John F. Kennedy.

## FRANCE OVERSEAS

### Algeria

March 1—The French Cabinet approves a series of decrees to limit the power of the French army in Algeria.

Algerian nationalist leaders in Morocco talk with Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba and Moroccan King Hassan II.

March 2—King Hassan, President Bourguiba and Algerian Provisional Government Premier Ferhat Abbas issue a communiqué declaring "no obstacle" to peace negotiations on an Algerian settlement.

March 8—Sources report that Mohammed Ben Bella, imprisoned leader of the Algerian rebels, will be transferred to a more comfortable French prison very shortly.

March 12—A message by President of the U.A.R. Gamal Abdel Nasser to the Algerian nationalist leaders recently is reported: Nasser urges them to hold peace talks with the French government and declares he will not oppose Bourguiba's efforts to arrange an Algerian settlement.

March 29—It is reported that France is continuing its program of consulting other Algerian rebel factions despite objections of the Algerian Provisional Government (principal rebel group).

March 30—France and the Algerian Provisional Government issue separate communiqués announcing formally the opening of talks on an Algerian settlement at Evian-les-Bains, on Lake Geneva, on April 7.

French Minister for Algerian Affairs Louis Joxe indicates that he plans to deal with Hadj Messali, leader of a rival nationalist movement, on the same terms under which he deals with the Provisional Government of the National Liberation Front, led by Premier Abbas.

March 31—N.L.F. Minister of Informa-

tion M'hammed Yazid says that Joxe's declaration "concerning negotiation with the valets of colonialism brings into question the negotiations that are to open April 7 at Evian."

## GERMANY, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (East)

March 19—The East German government announces that it will abandon its aircraft industry. The industry's plant and labor resources will be used to produce machinery, vehicles and building equipment.

## GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (West)

March 2—The Bundesbank, West German central bank, raises the ceiling on borrowing by West German banks. This measure is taken to stem the inflow of foreign money.

March 4—The West German deutsche mark is revalued 5 per cent higher. The new rate is set at 4 marks to the dollar; the former rate was 4.20. The official announcement of the revaluation is scheduled for tomorrow. The revaluation is an attempt to cut down foreign gold and money reserves in West Germany.

## ICELAND

March 9—The *Althing* (Parliament) approves a resolution that the government accept an agreement ending the offshore fishing rights dispute with Great Britain.

## INDONESIA

March 1—Six political organizations are banned by President Sukarno because their ideologies were opposed to his "Left progressive" creed.

March 10—Indonesia asks Britain to cease representing Netherlands' interests in Indonesia and tells the U.A.R. not to represent Indonesia in The Hague.

## ISRAEL

March 15—President John F. Kennedy announces that the U.S. Export-Import Bank will lend Israel \$25 million.

March 28—The Knesset (Parliament) dissolves itself and sets new elections for August 15.



## JORDAN

March 27—It is announced that Defense Minister Akif Fayeze has resigned. An emergency session of the Cabinet approves the forced retirement of 5 senior army officers.

## KOREA, SOUTH

March 24—In the second outbreak in 2 days, 400 anti-government students in Pusan clash with 300 policemen.

## LAOS

March 1—It is reported from Phongsavan in north Laos that this area is under Communist Pathet Lao control. Prince Souvanna Phouma, who fled to exile in Cambodia last December, is visiting Xiengkhouang Province in north Laos. It is further reported that the neutralist government, set up last January in the name of the Prince to oppose the Rightist rule of Premier Boun Oum in Vientiane, is really a Communist-backed group. Souvanna returns to Pnompenh in Cambodia.

March 9—Deputy Premier of the Vientiane government Phoumi Nosavan talks with Phouma in Pnompenh.

March 10—A joint communiqué is issued by Nosavan and Phouma in which the two leaders agree on a "policy of strict neutrality" if peace is to be restored to Laos. The communiqué also states that foreign interference in Laos must cease; to accomplish this a 3-man commission composed of Cambodia, Malaya, and Burma is urged. A 14-nation parley to arrange a final peace in Laos is agreed on.

March 11—Communist Pathet Lao rebels in the north move south, taking control of a vital portion of the Queen Astrid Highway at a point 40 miles south of Luang Prabang.

March 15—In a news conference U.S. President Kennedy voices American support for a neutral and independent Laos. He says that the U.S. will help Laos to resist the invaders from the north.

Prince Souvanna Phouma leaves on a world tour to win world support for his proposal for a 14-nation commission to restore peace in Laos.

March 17—The U.S. State Department an-

nounces that the U.S. has increased shipments of military supplies to Laos to help the Royal Laotian Government under Premier Boun Oum.

Premier Boun Oum's government announces that talks recently with Prince Souvanna Phouma failed.

March 18—In a 5-hour talk between U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko in Washington, the U.S. urges Soviet cooperation in settling the Laotian civil war.

March 20—Kennedy meets with top U.S. leaders to discuss the Laotian situation. Among the conferees are Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Undersecretary of State Chester Bowles and Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs J. Graham Parsons.

March 23—The British proposal on restoring peace in Laos, effected with U.S. agreement, is presented to the Soviet government. The proposal calls for a cease-fire, the reactivation of the International Control Commission on Laos to supervise the peace, and an international parley to enact a final settlement.

March 24—In a letter to Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru delivered today by U.S. Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman, Kennedy appeals for India's support in effecting a Laotian peace.

Prince Souvanna Phouma, in Paris, voices support of the Western peace proposals.

March 26—Meeting in Florida, Kennedy and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan agree that the Laotian situation must not be allowed to grow worse.

March 27—The Seato Council of Ministers' meeting opens in Bangkok for discussion of the Laotian crisis. (See also *International, Seato.*)

March 29—The Seato Council of Ministers adopts a resolution voicing hopes for a Laotian cease-fire and a settlement guaranteeing Laos' neutrality.

March 30—Prince Boun Oum's government voices approval of the Seato communiqué.

In London Prince Souvanna Phouma meets with British Foreign Secretary Lord Home and Home Secretary R. A. Butler. The British leaders urge Phouma to return



to Laos and work for the establishment of a neutral regime there.

March 31—Souvanna Phouma tells a news conference in London that if the U.S. will stop supplying military aid to Laos he will ask for the cessation of Soviet military aid.

## MOROCCO

March 3—It is reported that yesterday the French completed evacuation of all bases in Morocco. The only French soldiers remaining in Morocco are those connected with 6 military training schools, to be shut down in 1963.

## POLAND

March 18—First Secretary of the Polish Communist party Wladyslaw Gomulka opens the national election campaign by telling Polish crowds that the Roman Catholic Church is hostile to the Communist state. Two hours later Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski tells a congregation at a Lenten retreat of his firm opposition to the present Polish government.

## PORTUGAL

### Angola

March 17—It is reported that in a series of anti-white raids in the last 2 days, Africans have attacked white plantation settlers, killing one and wounding several.

March 18—Portuguese troops are rushed to north Angola where a wave of tribal violence has been directed at white settlers.

March 22—Portuguese in Angola demonstrate in front of the U.S. consulate to protest U.S. criticism of Portugal's colonial policies.

March 23—The General Assembly, 79-2, votes to put the Angola question on the agenda. The Portuguese delegation walks out of the General Assembly.

March 27—In Lisbon, some 20,000 Portuguese stone the U.S. embassy. It is believed that the Portuguese are protesting the U.S. vote in support of a General Assembly investigation of colonial policy in Angola.

## RUMANIA

March 5—Rumanians vote for local and regional delegates and for deputies to the Grand National Assembly (supreme gov-

erning body). A single list of candidates is offered.

March 21—The Bucharest radio announces a new governmental structure, under which the Presidium (executive organ) will be replaced by a 17-man State Council. First Secretary of the Rumanian Workers (Communist) party Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej is elected Council President.

## SAUDI ARABIA

March 16—The U.S. State Department confirms a Mecca broadcast. The Mecca radio declares that the 5-year U.S.-Saudi Arabian pact of 1957 setting up a U.S. military airbase at Dhahran will not be renewable next year.

## SWEDEN

March 27—Premier Tage Erlander of Sweden arrives in the U.S. to meet with U.S. President Kennedy.

U.S.S.R., THE (See also *Laos* and *U.S. Foreign Policy*.)

March 3—It is announced that Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko will head the Soviet delegation to the U.N. session scheduled to begin this week.

U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., back from the U.S. with a message from President Kennedy for Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, offers to meet Khrushchev any time, any place.

March 9—Thompson and Khrushchev meet in Novosibirsk in Siberia where Thompson delivers a message from Kennedy.

A Soviet 5-ton satellite carrying a dog is orbited and retrieved successfully.

March 18—*Tass*, Soviet press agency, discloses that a 40 million ruble credit will be given Mali, under a technical and economic agreement just signed.

March 23—The Soviet Union withdraws censorship of outgoing news dispatches but warns foreign correspondents that they will be held responsible for incorrect news stories.

March 25—The Soviet Union announces the launching of its second space satellite carrying a dog and its successful recovery.



It weighs slightly less than the 5-ton satellite sent up March 9.

March 28—A meeting of the 8 Warsaw Pact nations opens in Moscow, with top ranking Soviet bloc Communist and government leaders in attendance. Only Albanian Communist leader Enver Hoxha does not attend, but sends his defense minister.

March 31—The Warsaw Pact nations issue a communiqué following the end of the 2-day meeting last night. The communiqué urges that a peace treaty be signed with the two Germanies. The 8 conferees also agree to increase their military defenses.

## UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

March 18—Plans for a visit by a U.S. company starring actress Helen Hayes and sponsored by the U.S. State Department have been dropped. The U.A.R. protested that the touring company's itinerary included a visit to Israel.

## UNITED STATES

### Agriculture

March 20—The White House receives legislation from Congress authorizing the government to extend larger loans for livestock, feed and farm equipment to operators of family-sized farms; 25 per cent of available loans instead of 10 per cent under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act will be permitted to go to such farmers.

March 22—Kennedy signs a compromise bill providing increased price supports for farmers who make at least 20 per cent reductions in corn and feed grains acreage; payments will be made in kind, by certificates redeemable in grain from government surplus stocks. These certificates could be converted to cash.

### Economy

March 7—Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary of Labor, reveals that unemployment in February reached a record high of 5,705,000, the highest total since 1941.

March 21—Kennedy talks to the opening meeting of his new labor-management committee, noting that the nation might

recover from depression still shouldering a 6 or 7 per cent unemployment rate.

March 22—The House and Senate approve a compromise bill for payment of additional unemployment compensation to those whose state unemployment benefits have run out.

March 24—Kennedy submits a 1961 budget estimating a \$2.2 billion deficit, with a larger deficit predicted for next year. (See also *Government*, Mar. 28.)

The Department of Labor reveals that there is substantial unemployment in two-thirds of the 150 major industrial areas of the United States.

Kennedy signs the bill extending unemployment benefits to the nation's jobless.

### Foreign Policy

March 1—Kennedy supports the statement of G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who has maintained that Africa belongs to "all those who felt that they were Africans...."

March 3—The State Department orders its consulates to abandon form FS-257AF, for visa applicants; this is a questionnaire on morals, politics and intentions.

March 7—The President asks for authority to extend economic aid to Communist Eastern Europe, in a letter to congressional leaders.

March 8—Kennedy and Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah hold a 90 minute meeting described by Kennedy as "most fruitful."

March 14—Kennedy asks Congress to appropriate the entire \$500 million authorized in September, 1960, for a "social progress fund" in Latin America.

March 16—The Senate ratifies the treaty making the U.S. a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

March 22—It is revealed in Washington that Secretary of State Dean Rusk has ordered administrators not to reveal information about alleged foreign aid program scandals to congressional investigators.

March 24—Rusk recommends that espionage charges against a Russian U.N. employee be dismissed to promote better U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations.

March 26—Kennedy and British Prime



Minister Harold Macmillan ask for a "truly neutral Laos" and appeal to the U.S.S.R. for a "positive and constructive reply" to their suggestions for ending the conflict in Laos. A joint communiqué marks the end of their meeting at Key West. (See also *Laos*.)

March 27—Kennedy talks to Russian Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko; they agree on neutrality toward Laos.

March 29—Congress extends Kennedy's power to ban Cuban sugar imports until June 30, 1962.

Kennedy talks to Swedish Premier Tage Erlander; they agree to support Dag Hammarskjöld and a stronger U.N.

March 30—In New Delhi, Dean Rusk says he and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru have discussed Laos and the Congo and "agreed largely."

#### Government

March 1—By Executive Order, a Peace Corps is established, enlisting Americans for voluntary service without pay in overseas underdeveloped areas.

March 2—Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the U.S. reveal that they are opposed to school aid legislation that restricts federal aid to public schools.

March 4—White House press secretary Pierre Salinger reveals the nomination of R. Sargent Shriver as Peace Corps director; Shriver, brother in law of President Kennedy, will serve without pay.

March 7—The director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization charges that the civil defense program is "completely inadequate."

March 12—Governor of Hawaii William F. Quinn outlines a 20-year development program for Hawaii.

March 14—Leaders of the Roman Catholic clergy oppose separate legislation for federal aid to public schools and federal aid to private schools.

March 15—Kennedy asks that religious dissension over federal aid to education be restrained.

Kennedy names John Kenneth Galbraith as Ambassador to India.

March 17—Kennedy writes a letter to the chairman of the Civil War Centennial

Commission protesting segregated housing facilities for a meeting of the commission. (See also *Segregation*.)

March 22—Kennedy signs a bill restoring five-star general rank to former President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

March 24—The compromise bill extending coverage of the minimum wage, sponsored by the Administration, is defeated in the House with a vote of 186 against, 185 for the measure.

March 28—Budget Bureau estimates are published; the 1962 budget deficit is estimated at \$2.8 billion.

March 29—Ratification of the twenty-third amendment by Kansas, thirty-eighth state to ratify, gives the citizens in the District of Columbia three members in the Electoral College and the right to vote in national elections.

March 30—The House of Representatives recesses for the Easter holidays.

#### Labor

March 22—The New York City strike of some 1,500 truckdrivers and pushboys is settled; some \$12.50 a week in raises is won by the strikers.

#### Military Policy

March 3—The House Appropriations Committee asks the Defense Department to name a single director for missile base construction "at once."

The RB-47 fliers recently released by the U.S.S.R. reveal that when they were shot down they fought back with tail cannon.

March 6—The Navy reveals that 4 ships carrying 500 marines have been diverted to Congolese waters. (See also *Congo*.)

March 7—The Navy orders the 4 ships diverted toward the Congo to rejoin the goodwill force going to Capetown.

March 8—Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara issues a directive giving the Air Force almost exclusive authority for military space projects.

March 13—The White House reveals that more than 100 turbojet transport planes have been ordered from Lockheed Aircraft.

March 25—Explorer X is orbited from Cape Canaveral.



March 27—Budget Director David E. Bell makes public details of the next Kennedy budget, (fiscal 1962) including plans to ask for 10 per cent more in appropriations for the space program.

March 28—Kennedy asks for acceleration of the missile program.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration reveals that Explorer X has sent almost 60 hours of continuous signalling from outer space.

March 30—An X-15 rocket plane sets a new world altitude record in a flight 31.25 miles above the earth.

The Defense Department reveals plans to close or limit 52 domestic military bases or installations and 21 foreign installations for reasons of economy.

### Politics

March 11—Appearing in Sacramento, California, as keynote speaker at a political meeting, former Vice-President Richard Nixon enunciates a new program for the Republicans on national and state levels.

Democratic National Chairman John M. Bailey reveals that the Democratic Advisory Council has been discontinued.

March 13—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is named national chairman of the National Committee of the Communist party, U.S.A.

March 20—Republican National Chairman Thruston B. Morton, Kentucky Senator, reveals plans to retire about June 1; it is

reported that New Yorker William E. Miller is his probable successor.

### Segregation

March 2—The Eighth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals rules that the School Board in Little Rock, Arkansas, must hasten the desegregation of the schools.

March 7—Agreement ending sit-down strikes is reached in Atlanta, Georgia, as Negro leaders and businessmen concur on a formula ending segregated lunch counter facilities when local schools are desegregated in September.

March 17—A federal judge orders Pensacola, Florida, to submit a desegregation program for its public schools within 90 days; this is the first such order in the state.

March 25—The National Civil War Centennial Commission responds to presidential censure and agrees to hold its annual meeting at the desegregated naval station at Charleston, South Carolina (see also *Government*).

### Supreme Court

March 6—The Court rules unanimously that a state may not employ mechanical eavesdropping devices driven into the wall of a person's home to obtain evidence because such action violates the Fourth Amendment.

The Court rules in a two-line order to affirm lower court decisions that Louisiana segregation laws are unconstitutional.

(Continued from p. 309)

has undertaken a comprehensive review of the philosophy of political inquiry—"a philosophy of science applicable to political science."

His essay discusses "general conceptions of ends and means, purposes and methods, in scholarly inquiry. Still more broadly, it includes an effort to spell out and clarify both the meaning of crucial words that are employed in scholarly inquiry and the meaning and implications of various assumptions and premises on which such inquiry is, or should be based."

This book is highly recommended for any serious student of political science. It is a valuable contribution. A.Z.R.

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